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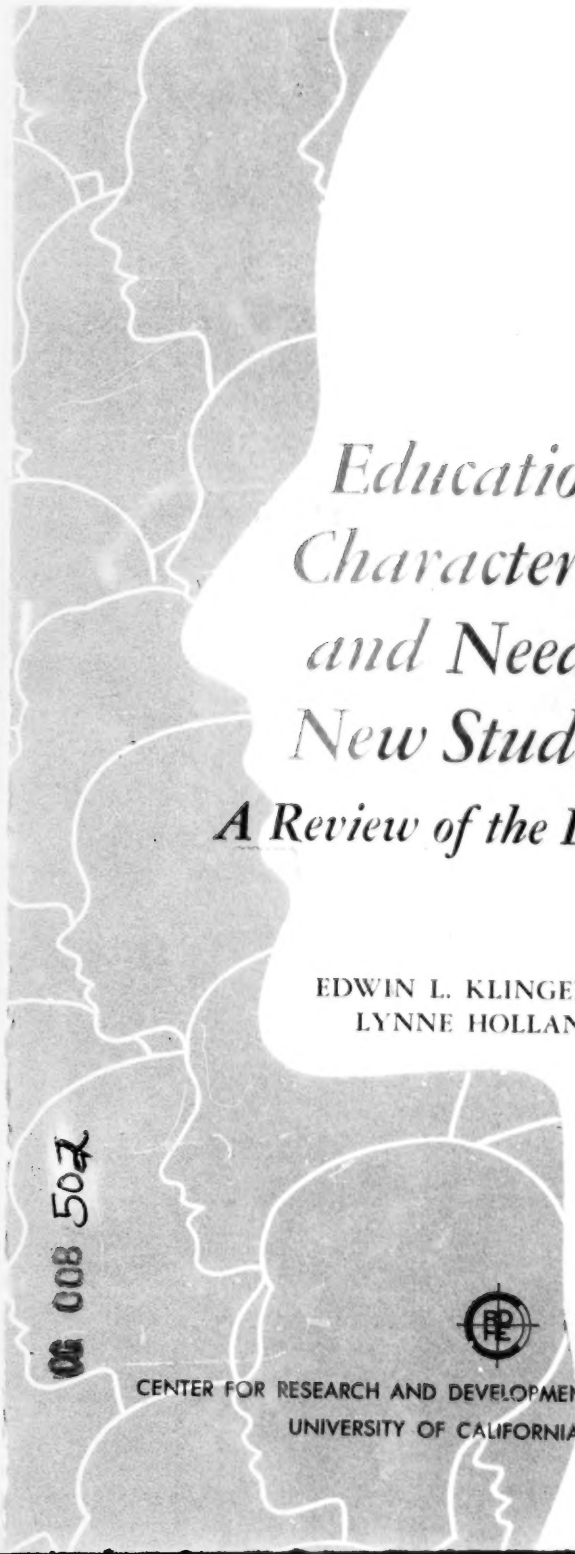
ABSTRACT

This report summarizes and assesses secular and scholastic characteristics of students new to higher education. The report includes a review of the lieterature from 1960 through 1971 in an attempt to offer suggestions for new educational programs, services, tactics, further research, and educational models sensitive to the needs of new students. Reviewing the scholastic or cognitive attributes of new students, the report considers the following dimensions: academic skills, study skills, coping behavior, background data, and intellectual functioning. The report then considers the following noncognitive variables: deferment of gratification, economic factors, motivation and aspiration, locus of control, self-concept, and social influences. The report categorizes the data by ethnic groups and sex, and suggests curricular implications and recommendations. (Author/LAA)



Educational Characteristics and Needs of New Students:

A Review of the Literature

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Educational Characteristics and Needs of New Students: A Review of the Literature

INTRODUCTION

This report attempts to summarize and critically assess what is known about what Turnbull (1971, p. 132) termed the "secular" and "scholastic" characteristics of the student new to higher education.

> To the familiar "scholastic" criteria it may be desirable to add others derived more immediately from the outer world and its demands. Perhaps, then, institutional quality has a "secular" as well as a scholastic dimension. How broad is the array of student abilities, needs, and aspirations that the college is ready to recognize, and how well is it prepared to cope with them? It may be argued that insofar as an institution seeks diversity in its student body, it should be prepared to match that diversity with its courses of study. Such a secular goal, coupled with the aim of maximizing growth in each segment of the learning program, might be proposed as a worthy objective for any institution that wants to accommodate a diverse student body. . . .
>
> The overwhelming message from campuses across the country is that higher education must go beyond scholarship and take as its aims the nurturing of social concern, involvement, and dedication. Here, indeed, is still another secular dimension of quality: its power to engender commitment. A campus may be characterized by its "climate" in respect to this and a host of other criteria: its respect for student self-direction, its provision for democratic self-governance, its sense of shared purpose and high morale, its respect for expanding and transmitting human knowledge, the strength of ethical belief and intention carried away by those who have been touched by it.

We searched the literature from 1960 through 1971 and believe that what we review here covers most of the research dealing with this general subject. Because of the growth of interest in the new student and the increased volume of published material relating to this subject, we cannot claim that our list of sources exhausts the field; we do believe that it does cover most of the major problems, issues and controversies. We limited our attention mainly to materials dealing with college students, although we have included documents dealing with low socioeconomic status (SES) or ethnic minority, secondary school students. As a rule, exceptions were made only for publications that introduced a seminal concept, or topic which stimulated considerable follow-up research (e.g., LeShan, 1952), or one that had a significant impact on educational policy or practice (e.g., Coleman, 1966).

This review aims to analyze and synthesize whatever current research has to say about the new student which may have bearing on his post-secondary education. From it we hope to draw ideas to suggest educational programs, services and tactics that will respond efficiently and sensitively to the needs of the new student. These suggestions might lead to educational models to provide a basis for further research, or (in the event of unanimity of findings) point to new curricula and programs for dissemination to institutions serving the new student.

An important feature of the literature concerning the new student is its qualitative variability. A good deal of what has been written falls into the category of testimony rather than evidence, that is, it is based on opinion without much supporting evidence or documentation. This condition is likely to occur when action must be taken without guidelines. Most institutions of higher education were propelled into the business of educating new students about the time of Dr. Martin Luther King Junior's assassination. Few had any experience or knowledge on which to base programs or services, and a good deal of improvising was done on the strength of opinions or assumptions about the nature of the new students. The suddenness and size of the phenomenon led to the publication of a large number of prescriptive articles based on the somewhat limited experience or opinions of authoritative individuals. As a result, much of what has been written is "soft"; that is, it is based on opinion or experience rather than on hard fact. To reflect this difference, we separated the list of references into two sections, and in the discussion of the research findings

have not dealt with the soft materials intensively. They are listed because some of the opinion-based research is interesting, useful, and more revealing than the hard research.

THE NEW STUDENT

The new student has been known by a variety of other names: "culturally (educationally, socially, economically) disadvantaged"; "deprived"; "high-risk"; "nontraditional"; "emerging"; "culturally different"; "underprepared"; "special action"; and "environmentally handicapped" are among the terms used to characterize him or her. These terms not only lack precision, but are unsatisfactory in other ways. To label a student as "culturally disadvantaged," for example, has come to be regarded as intolerably ethnocentric; "high-risk" carried its own prophecy of failure. The term "new" that we have settled on here may represent the ultimate euphemism; it includes a number of different constituencies manifesting low achievement in secondary school and other educational or social institutions. Harcleroad (1971) quoting from the Florida Community College Inter-Institutional Research Council defines disadvantagement as inherent in "low ability, low achievement, academic underpreparation, psycho-social maladjustment, cultural or linguistic isolation, poverty, neglect or delinquency." In appraising the literature we have not been able to follow Cross' (1971) operational definition that limits consideration to those students in higher education who score in the lowest third among national samples of young people on traditional tests of academic ability.

We considered ethnic minority studies except for those obviously dealing with students of high ability, studies of low SES students if they were also characterized by low ability, and studies of women, if either of low ability or low SES. The student subjects in these investigations usually will satisfy Cross' definition, although the investigator may have used other dimensions such as attendance at particular kinds of institutions, or other characteristics Harcleroad designates. This means that while there is some consistency, the students studied do show considerable variation from one place to another.

Moreover, the new student is not necessarily a recent phenomenon, created by the ethnic push and the move to open admissions. Some of the traditional black colleges were founded with the idea of serving students who fit our categorization; the community colleges, in most places, always

followed the open-admission policy. What is new is the greatly increased flow of these students to postsecondary institutions; the realization by many institutions of higher education of the existence of these new students and their attempts to satisfy new needs in some fashion or another; and the increase in the level of concern for these students as reflected by research output and the development of programs, services and strategies intended to serve them.

The Significance of the New Student to Higher Education

If conditions remain relatively constant, it would be a simple matter to forecast the kind of impact new students are expected to have on higher education. The American Council on Education (1971) estimated that higher education might enroll 9.4 million undergraduate students in 1979; current enrollment is about 6.7 million. Given Cross' (1971) assessment of the hypothetical reservoir of potential students (that *almost all* of the students from the upper half of the population in terms of achievement and socioeconomic status *already go to college*), the increase in enrollment will be those students who comprise the lower half of the population on ability and SES.

Whether this increase actually will occur seems doubtful. Recent data (Carnegie Commission, 1971) indicate that the rate of growth in undergraduate enrollments has slowed, and there has been an absolute decline in the number of first-time freshmen who enrolled in the fall of 1971. While this development fits with the distribution of population by age- the proportion of population in the 18-19 year bracket is declining–an increase in the rate of college attendance in this group should have compensated for the smaller base. It did not, and as the difficulties many college graduates are having in securing employment become more widely known, there may be a pronounced redirection, with the Carnegie data suggesting that already may be occurring to some small degree.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of black and Spanish surname students enrolled; a 14.7 percent increase for blacks in 1971 over 1970, and a 25.1 percent increase for Spanish surname students has been reported in 1971, and many of these ethnic minority students fall within our definition of new students. However, the percentage of minority students relative to the total number of students is still low and falls very short of achieving parity with population figures. If the occupa-

tional implications of a college education are impaired by the general economic situation and by what now is being called an overproduction of college graduates, there is no reason to assume that the new students will be less aware of, less sensitive to, or less able to act consistently with these trends than any other group.

The projections contend that there will be an aggregate increase of 2.8 million undergraduate college students from 1970 to 1979. We expect that the bulk of this increase, if it materializes, will be composed of students from that quadrant of the population which is in the lower half, both socioeconomically, and in aptitude for conventional academic tasks. The absolute growth may not occur, but in any event more new students will go on to higher education than did formerly, and they will constitute a growing proportion of the total enrollment over the next few years. There is no doubt that the new student will be an important factor in the future and he will need to be reckoned with by educational planners. At the undergraduate level, the character of the student body in the minimally selective institutions, which are the destinations of most new students, will undergo redistribution and change. The change in students will inevitably call for some institutional adjustments.

Demographic Description of the New Student

We have defined the new student somewhat loosely above, and have indicated that the delineations of the new student will vary according to the research bias of the investigator. Thus, any useful consensus is difficult to achieve, although there are some major points of agreement. Moreover, there seems very little hard demographic information available, although impressions and opinions are commonplace. Cross (1971) summarized the characteristics of the four samples that provided the basis for her analysis. In general, the new student has a higher likelihood of being a woman. Ethnic minorities are over-represented in the total although whites still command a majority. About two-thirds of the students' fathers completed high school or had less schooling than that. About 60 percent of these fathers held blue collar jobs. Estimates of previous academic performance of students were greatly disparate but, in general, the students reported their performances to have been average or below, measured by self-reported grades, rank in class, expected teacher rating or grades earned. Depending on the study, one-fifth to two-thirds of the students planned to attend two-year or four-year colleges.

Other writers have dealt in general terms with the characteristics of this group of students. Crossland (1971) noted that the future may see a shift in emphasis from race to economics. He took special note of the fact that the white, blue collar-student has not entered higher education in anything like the numbers from other disadvantaged groups. Sewell (1971) in his careful longitudinal study of Wisconsin students underscored Crossland's point by pointing out the closely dependent relationship of college attendance to socioeconomic status. With attitudes changing and aid becoming somewhat more accessible to children from lower-income families, the possibility of college becomes greater for working-class children, as does its accessibility through the growth of the two-year institution. Bayer and Boruch (1969a, 1969b) provided an invaluable picture of the black student (although not all black students are new students, nor are all new students, nor even a majority of them, black) and Kerr (1972) made some general forecasts about the shape of higher education in the future and the greatly diversified clientele it will have to serve.

Because of the situational and problem-oriented character of much of the research, comprehensive, current descriptions of the new student are scarce. Even Cross' (1971) immensely valuable and suggestive work utilized survey research data from the middle 1960s, except for her Comparative Guidance and Placement sample. In a stable situation this would be immaterial, but in a society which has experienced such a great amount of ferment in the past four years and where much evidence for rapid shifts exists (Friedman, 1969a; Steckler, 1957; Banks, 1970), it is unfortunate that the current situation has not been studied more intensively.

Other Bibliographers

In compiling our own list of references we have benefited greatly from the work of other individuals who preceded or anticipated us in this line of inquiry. Weinberg (1970) indexed a considerable body of materials dealing with the education of the disadvantaged, particularly precollege and black groups. Since it is essentially a list, it avoids the problems of synthesis and of appraisal, or qualitative judgment. Edmund W. Gordon worked intensively in this field, and his early work with Wilkerson (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966) was valuable and instructive. It provided a critical and evaluative viewpoint as well as furnishing citations of relevant materials, although it dealt with the problems of compensatory education

of younger children and relied on extrapolation in considering the situation of the older student. Of the 84 titles listed in the bibliography, seven concern themselves with data or questions relating to college-age samples.

E.W. Gordon (1967) dealt somewhat more explicitly with higher education for the disadvantaged, covering the problems, the relevant research, and some of the strategies directed at the problems. This report contains a useful annotated bibliography on the higher education of the disadvantaged which classifies the documents reviewed under four main headings: Civil Rights and Access to Higher Education; Programs and Practices; Characteristics of Disadvantaged Students; and College Admissions and Guidance. The 98 titles in the body of the document are supplemented by an addendum prepared by Edwina Frank which provides another 27 citations.

Other writers who have studied the characteristics, especially the noncognitive ones, of the new students in higher education include Barnes (1971), Atkinson, Etzioni and Tinker (1969), and Melnick (1971). Barnes concerned himself with explanations for underachievement, which he categorized as biological or racial, physiological, demographic, or sociological, and he assessed the literature bearing on each of these topics. Atkinson supplied an annotated bibliography of materials dealing with pluralism and integration on the white campus. It groups the documents under these headings: background analyses, minority needs, proposals, designs or demands for programs, reports on programs, assessments of programs, and other bibliographies. Melnick examined Upward Bound programs and the performance of the disadvantaged student in college. He provided a useful set of references and tabulated findings growing out of program evaluations.

Kendrick and Thomas (1970) placed their major emphasis on selection and prediction, and reviewed the research on disadvantaged students involved in the transition from school to college. They organized their appraisal around a number of topics including educational attainment and college attendance, guidance and the search for disadvantaged students. Approximately 160 references are cited, some chosen to lend historical perspective to their comprehensive discussion of college and the new student.

Finally, Stanley (1971) marshalled the evidence of the educational devices used to predict academic performance of the disadvantaged, and

appraised their value. He concluded that the devices and procedures used effectively with traditional students have equal validity for the nontraditional college student and suggested procedures to assist the marginally qualified individual to succeed.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE NEW STUDENT

The large number of bibliographers and the scope and variety of the references they cite indicate that the new student commands a high level of interest and concern. However, even with so much attention paid to the new student certain general difficulties demand further attention on our part.

The literature about the disadvantaged is chiefly preoccupied with blacks, and it is probably accurate to say that when the topic of the disadvantaged comes up, one automatically thinks of black students. This is because black students have been in the forefront of the wave of new students entering higher education. In addition, there existed a substantial literature on black college students, because of the existence and past efforts of more than 100 traditionally black institutions. This tendency in the literature has been noted by others (Stanley, 1971, p. 640), (Kendrick and Thomas, 1970, p. 151) and is borne out by the fact that well over half of the references cited at the end of this book deal exclusively or primarily with black students.

Recently, interest in other ethnic groups has increased so that occasional articles dealing with Mexican-Americans and Native Americans are published. But papers that concentrate on low achieving, low SES whites, or on the special problems of women appear rarely. As all of these groups become more organized, more aware of their special status, and more militant it is likely that scholarly attention will be addressed to them too.

This preoccupation with blacks is often accompanied by a second characteristic—the tendency to consider all new students as identical, and to ignore ethnic, geographic, regional, sexual or socioeconomic differences, and variations over time. Yet, differences between and within groups of new students do exist. Ramirez pointed out, for example:

> . . . . the S's in the group were in various stages of acculturation. Some had almost completely rejected the Mexican family values, while others were still very much identified with them. It would appear, then, that there are other variables besides generation mem-

> bership and socioeconomic class that are related to level of acculturation of Mexican-Americans [Ramirez, 1967, p. 8].

In addition there is a question of relativity involved. Most investigations are conducted in a specific situation and the student is new in relation to that situation. Reports on the academic progress of "disadvantaged" students at highly selective universities, for example, are not likely to be instructive for a predominantly black urban community college.

Barnes (1971, p. 23) criticized theoretical positions and empirical studies for their failure to view the black community as the highly complex and structured system that it is and noted that ". . . the concentration of literature is on the lowest income, most oppressed black families and individuals. The findings from this group are used as an index to 'understanding,' 'explaining,' and 'describing,' blacks."

Tefft (1967) also discussed the difficulty of generalizing about groups by noting that Arapaho high school seniors experience much greater feelings of anomie than do the Shoshone and white students from the same area with similar academic records.

The systems approach advocated by Barnes (1971) urges a focus shift to what he terms "the whole-person-in-a-social-context (p. 43)," which might help guard against the tendency to overgeneralize and oversimplify.

A third general characteristic of the literature about the disadvantaged is its preoccupation with negative qualities or deficiencies of the students. This tendency has been noted by others (E.W. Gordon, 1967; Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966; Barnes, 1971) and has been singled out vigorously by Mackler (1970) in these words:

> Research on blacks reveals a paucity of material, partly because failure is the dominant theme in these schools, but mainly this is due to the short-sightedness of American scholarly research. We research the obvious and hardly ever try to do what is most difficult—to do process, interactional longitudinal research. . . .
>
> . . . The fact that we rarely study successful blacks tells us more about our racial bias than it does about black failure [p. 232].

Riessman (1962) presented a list of what he saw as the positive qualities of disadvantaged youth and R. Williams (1969) and Gordon (1964) also named positive strengths manifested by disadvantaged students.

Cross (1971) delineated some of the differences between new and traditional students citing high career motivation; preference for learning

tangible matters; devaluation of the academic model of higher education for the vocational one; preference for nonacademic activities and interests; preference for television to reading; and a preference for working with tools rather than numbers as distinctive attributes of the new student. She proposed constructing educational programs to capitalize on these preferences, in order to exploit these different interests affirmatively. Her suggestion is atypical, since the general tone of most of the research has to do with how to change the student to fit the system. Higher education comes close to falling into the category of being an unexamined good and students are expected to comply with its forms, procedures and requirements. The new student usually is described in critical and unflattering terms, and the main thrust has been to detect and remedy his deficiencies, improve his skills, eliminate his psychological limitations, and by these prosthetic processes remake him in the mold of the traditional student.

The experimental or survey research literature also shows a good deal of variability, qualitatively. While some of it is well conceived and rigorous, much of it tends to be highly operational, or concerned with smaller issues that are not especially instructive to those interested in the broader questions concerning the education of the new student.

Perhaps the most frustrating feature of the literature is its inconclusiveness–at least when it comes to describing the noncognitive characteristics of the new student. As a result of the definitional process, the new student is shown to be a low achiever in school related skills, a poor performer on tests of scholastic aptitude or ability, and exhibits the qualities associated with those factors–minority ethnic group membership, lower SES, etc. As the research returns come in, however, the controversy is still growing concerning the degree (if any) to which new students may exhibit qualities such as anxiety, fear of failure, negative self-concept, and inappropriate levels of aspiration (ignoring, for the moment, the cultural loading implicit in these terms). The reasons for this lack of definition stem from a variety of factors all of which are inherent in social science research.

First, definitions of the concepts under investigation vary at the discretion of the investigator so that one measure used in an analogous setting may produce different results. Second, the populations vary greatly from investigation to investigation, in some cases involving groups that are clearly dissimilar. The results, in these cases, simply reflect sample

differences. Third, the research procedures vary so that the same data may yield different conclusions according to the setting in which they happen to be imbedded. Essentially, descriptive survey research admits only *post hoc* interpretations; more rigorous experimental methods place greater contstraints on the findings. And, since both the times and the nature of the clienteles are changing, results secured at one period may not be duplicated when the study is replicated.

Finally, we are left with some open questions. In establishing programs or formulating research on the new student the administrators or researchers in cha[illegible] been guided by the great amount of research done with younger [illegible]. Is it safe to develop instructional programs or formulate research plans that derive from this sort of information? Considering that there is an enormously potent process of selection (or, if one prefers, attrition) in the journey from elementary school through secondary school to college, those few who arrive at the campus may be markedly different from the aggregate of individuals contributing to the pool of information taken at an earlier time. The process of socialization in school appears to be powerfully homogenizing; C. Wayne Gordon (1968) in his investigation of Mexican-American and Anglo sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade pupils traced the relationships between socialization and school achievement.

Schools deliberately try to be a socially ameliorative force; and to develop ways of dealing with the new college student based on the hypothesis that young children provide a valid model presents some dangers. The literature based more on opinion than on research is especially prone to make this kind of inference, and ought to be read with some skepticism about the validity of generalizations based on continuous age-time line.

Another open question has to do with the attributes of the new students as a function of the larger milieu. Glazer (1969) pointed out the political difficulty of setting forth the probable causes for deep-seated differences in educational attainment along ethnic lines. If defects or limitations in the structure of the family are advanced to account for such differences, he noted that ". . . either it will be denied that the family is defective in this way, or it will be denied that the hitherto thought-to-be desirable objective which is hampered by that family structure is indeed desirable." Either of these responses has obvious and obviously different implications for educational practice.

The literature dealing with the new student continues to grow, and as it expands we nope that it will broaden to include and to deal selectively with the various constituencies comprising the whole group. We hope, too, that it will be refined so that new students' characteristics will not be defined by either academic or dominant group cultural norms that do not apply to the subgroups' experience. The literature should focus on the needs of the individual and ways to explore how institutions may respond most effectively to those needs. These wishes would be aided immeasurably if the researchers could come together in agreement about the elements under study and the research tools to employ to study them.

PLAN FOR THE REPORT

The remainder of this report presents and discusses the results of research concerning the characteristics of the new student. It is organized as follows: First we review the scholastic or cognitive attributes of new students and their relationship to academic performance. The following dimensions come under consideration:

- Academic skills (ability, aptitude, and achievement)
- Study skills
- Coping behavior and development of academic "know-how"
- Other factors (background data, cognitive style, intellectual functioning).

The research evidence was considered in each one of these categories, according to ethnic group membership and sex, so that some of the diversity of the new students is reflected in our analyses.

Next, we collected and discussed and evaluated those investigations dealing with the major secular characteristics of new students according to the Turnbull's construct. Ethnic grouping and sex data (where available) furnished additional dimensions for analysis within each concept.

Consideration of secular or noncognitive variables in relation to academic achievement at the postsecondary level presumes that these qualities bear a relationship to academic performance. And reducing factors that impede academic performance is a good in itself. This first assumption is discussed in the initial part of the report. The second point is a value assertion and, as such, is not resolvable. The characteristics that have

engaged researchers and constitute the major topics for discussion in the secular or noncognitive area are:

- Deferment of gratification
- Economic and financial factors
- Level of aspiration
- Motivation, motivational barriers, and the need for achievement
- Positive qualities
- Powerlessness and characteristics related to locus of control
- Self-concept, self-regard, self-confidence, self-esteem, and identity
- Social, family, and peer influences
- Other characteristics (Active-passive, attitudes toward school and study, conformity, help-seeking, intellectual disposition, masculinity, religious orientation, theoretical orientation, unwillingness to risk new tasks, and miscellaneous others).

From these separate evaluations arise whatever syntheses and conclusions we reach that seem to flow from the data.

To end this report we describe some curricular implications and make some recommendations derived from our study of the literature.

SCHOLASTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW STUDENT

In this section we consider the scholastic qualities that describe the new student. By scholastic we refer to those intellective or cognitive attributes or behaviors that grow directly from the academic setting, or that have been shown to relate usefully to performance in it. As noted in the Plan for the Report above, this part is divided into a number of separate topics.

Academic Skills (Ability, Aptitude, and Achievement)

The very processes used to identify the new students ensure that any sketch dealing with their academic skills or scholastic aptitudes would be discouraging. When defined by the lowest third of the distribution of ability, other scholastic attributes that closely relate to ability, or aptitude, or capacity of intelligence, also tend to fall in that tercile. As a

result, the new student usually earns low scores on cognitive indicators or forecasters of college performance as seen in prior high school records, intelligence test scores, or academic aptitude scores on achievement tests in high school subjects.

Disagreement exists, not on the facts, but how to interpret them. Stanley (1971) dealt exhaustively with the contention that conventional predictors have little or no validity when applied to new students and concluded his analysis by stating "For black students, especially, the differential validity hypothesis has been found untenable; indeed, test scores sometimes overpredict the academic achievement of blacks (p. 641)." This tendency to overpredict may reside simply in limitations in extending or extrapolating a linear prediction model to groups of individuals unlike those represented in the original data base. If college grade point average (GPA) forecasts for a group of new and historically low-achieving students are generated from regression coefficients developed on a previous group which did not contain many such students (and this is probably the usual state of affairs), the predictions for them probably will exceed their actual performance. For example, in the case of one selective institution following this procedure, the college performance forecast from high school GPA for a group of very low-achieving, ethnically mixed freshmen actually surpassed the grades they had earned in high school, although the across-the-board expectation was for college grades to fall below high school grades by about six-tenths of a point.

Half of the students actually made averages above, and half performed below the crude statistical projections; this was expected. However, if the average differential had been used as the basis for guessing college performance (that is, a student with a 2.2 average in high school would be expected to make a 1.6 GPA in college), about three-fourths of the group actually would have performed above expectations, that is, they would have been underpredicted.

Cleary (1968) studied this problem using white and black students in three different schools. She found that in two institutions which, judging from their average SAT scores enroll highly selected black students, the slope and intercept values for regression equations for the separate groups, using SAT scores, did not differ. However, the grades of white students predicted from black means depart considerably from actual attainment; 1.98 predicted versus 2.18 actual in one instance, and 1.81 versus 1.94 in the other. In these cases white performance is underpredicted.

In a third, less selective, institution the intercept values did differ significantly, although the forecasts (using indices of high school performance as added elements in the regression equation) were accurate when high school average was used.

Since the procedure simply called for application of the weights to the same groups on which they were originally developed, Cleary avoided the problem of shrinkage. It would have been interesting to see the results if samples had been split or the weights applied to independent groups.

It is clearly appropriate to concede the point that the conventional academic selection devices—high school grades and performance on tests of academic aptitude or achievement—do make it possible to reduce the incidence of student failure considerably in those institutions that are selective in their admissions policies. *However, most institutions that enroll new students in appreciable numbers are not selective at all, or have the most perfunctory of requirements. Moreover, even under the most favorable conditions the validity of the selection devices is low.* Accuracy of prediction has not shown much improvement in the past 50 years, and it is likely to diminish, because the range of variability in the criterion will shrink as grading standards are modified by excision of the so-called "punitive" elements (unsatisfactory or failing grades). The problem of what to do about differential skill levels then divides into two major areas—the student (and this applies especially to questions having to do with academic skills such as reading, writing, or quantitative abilities) is brought up to some level of performance or the program of study is adapted to conform more closely to his pattern of talents. *Either adapt the student, or adapt the curriculum.* In practice most institutions try to do both and, in practice, they tend not to do either well.

Academic Aptitudes and Skills of Undifferentiated Ethnic Groups

Clift (1969a) listed 72 factors of cognitive function that provide a basis for establishing curricular policy. Most of his factors bear on the educational problems of younger children and draw heavily on the research based on school-age youth, but his compilation does cite most of the scholastic stigmata of new students. Similar, but less sweeping, references to the scholastic or academic characteristics of new students are given by the following writers, who all allude to the problem of deficiency in skill or aptitude for work at the college level: Allen (1967), Bossone

(1965), Clarke (1966), Coordinating Council for Higher Education (1971), E. Gordon (1964, 1967), Gordon and Wilkerson (1966), Harcleroad (1971), Meeker (undated), Roueche (1968), Smith, H. (1962), Tinker (1970), and Williams (1969).

Meeker (undated) described the kinds of statements that characterize this group of references. His statement, based, to some extent, on the work and research of others, is that the person is disadvantaged, who

> Intellectually—is lower in IQ, is inferior in auditory and visual discrimination, is slow at cognitive tasks, is limited in self-expression, and has a poor attention span. . . .
>
> Procedurally—shows poor school know-how and lacks test-taking skills (p. 4).

Merson as cited in Roueche (1968) described the low-achieving community college student as one graduated from high school with a C average or below, and who is severely deficient in basic skills, i.e., language and mathematics. Soares and Soares (1971b) studying disadvantaged females noted that they compare unfavorably with advantaged college women in intelligence as assessed by the 16 Personality Factor Test.

Stanley (1971), as previously noted, collected and summarized the research dealing with the forecasting of academic performance of new students, and Cross (1971) defined new students as those placing in the lowest third of the ability distribution in her four reference groups. She identified the key qualities that distinguish the new students from traditional ones. In the scholastic field, from 13 percent to 35 percent of the students had above B averages in high school and from one-quarter to two-thirds of the subjects planned to attend either two-year or four-year college. Berg (1965) identified low-ability students as those earning School and College Ability Test scores placing them between the 16th and 30th percentiles on national norms, and related other descriptive qualities of this group to academic performance in four California community colleges. In general, the record of academic achievement was not especially favorable, although the low-ability students seemed to persist about as well as traditional students.

Astin (1970) compared disadvantaged and advantaged students drawn from an American Council on Education 1966 sample of 180 institutions. She defined disadvantagement as family income less than $6,000 and nongraduation from high school of the father. She found that disad-

vantaged students had better grades in high school than traditional students, but lower SAT scores. In college academic performance this relationship held with disadvantaged students earning higher grades, on the average, than the randomly chosen comparison groups. *In this instance, it is clear that to define disadvantagement in more heavily economic terms reorders the variables characterizing the group.*

Dispenzieri, Giniger, Reichman and Levy (1971) in one of the few studies offering some measure of comparison (as contrasted with the purely descriptive character of most validity studies) found that, among other factors, high school average and Otis IQ were most closely associated with the criteria that were first and second term and first year GPA, and first and second term amounts (totals) of credits completed. The authors did not provide comparisons of the disadvantaged and traditional matriculant groups on cognitive criteria, although they imply lower levels of performance on the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, the Otis Group Intelligence Scale, and the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test. They did note, however, that their correlational and multiple regression analyses revealed only a small part of the total variance in college performance was explicable by the large battery of measures that they used. Those devices that showed the best relationship with achievement were the ones that show similar relationships for more traditional students—specifically past performance as reflected by high school grades. This predictor is most effective, they contended, regardless of program or student.

Montgomery (1970) studied students who had completed two semesters of community college work and ranked at or below the 40th percentile in their high school graduating classes. She compared the students regarded as successful with those judged unsuccessful and noted that successful students were significantly higher on listening ability than the unsuccessful group.

American University (1969) reflects some of the problems of descriptive terminology for disadvantaged students in its description of its group of inner city freshmen. While the 25 students in this group were, on the average, about one standard deviation below the average for American University freshmen, their scores on the verbal and mathematical parts of the Scholastic Aptitude Test were about average for high school graduates. Thus, while new students in the American University sense, they were not severely deficient when compared with other college freshmen in less selective institutions throughout the country. In the American University

context, however, they were clearly and substantially below the average of the freshman class in aptitude as measured by SAT. However, in high school achievement the inner city group had average grades higher than those of the traditional freshman, a fact that authors attribute to the lower academic standards of the inner city high schools.

The students themselves report awareness of a need for improvement in skills. Berg and Axtell (1968) surveyed disadvantaged students in the California community colleges and found inadequacy of verbal expression mentioned as a significant problem more often by minority students than by Caucasians, and Stewart (1966, 1971) found vocational community colleges' students expressed low interest in written expression, as measured by the Interest Assessment scales. Stein (1966a, 1966b) studied low scoring entrants at Los Angeles City College and noted that they did not see a need for highly developed academic skills for themselves, although they expressed the belief that the ideal student had such qualities. Finally, Crossland (1971) in considering the problem of minority access to college noted:

> Virtually every test that purports to measure educational aptitude or achievement reveals that the mean of the scores for minority youth is about one standard deviation below the mean of the scores of the rest of the population. This disturbing observation has been examined and reexamined in test after test and it appears to be consistent [p. 58].
>
> . . . Despite the glowing and over-publicized stories about exceptions to the rule, "high risk" students indeed are academic risks and do require special handling and assistance [p. 103].

Academic Aptitudes and Skills of Black Students

The statements about ethnically undifferentiated groups of new students summarized above apply with equal force to black students. "The underprepared (black) student has low test scores, difficulty with communications skills and mathematics, and a limited accumulation of facts concerning a non-indigenous culture which he aspires to (i.e., the culture of higher education) [Atkinson, Etzioni and Tinker, 1969, p. 79]." Other writers have referred to black students' restricted experience in the knowledge and skills relevant for school achievement and the problems that arise from their dialectic language patterns (Bressler, 1967). Delco (1969) advocated early curricular emphasis on problems of cognitive style and the

role of language in ego and social formation. Friedman (1969b) characterized Miles College students as poor readers and poor note-takers, weak at writing on abstract ideas or nonexperiential topics. These judgments have been affirmed by others including Boney (1967), Karkhanis and Sellen (1969), McSwine (1971) and Resnick and Kaplan (1971a, 1971b). Humphreys (1969) painted a gloomy picture of the aptitude or capacity of black students for collegiate work, although he seemed to regard the traditional selective and cognitively focused type of experience as the sole model of the institution of higher education. To make it possible for blacks to succeed in this type of setting he advocated massive intervention in the form of special sections and remedial courses. Apparently he did not consider the possibility of modifying or adapting the institution to respond to the student more directly.

Some studies grew out of surveys or experimental analyses of black students' performances. Bayer and Boruch (1969a) summarized 1967 A.C.E. survey data and revealed that black students reported lower grades in high school than did nonblack students. They tended to rate the academic standards of their high schools lower than nonblacks did, but ranked themselves similarly in their high school class. Froe (1966) described the students in the remedial program at Morgan State College as lacking skill in communication because of limited vocabulary, limited skill in reading comprehension, gaps in essential background information, and inability to express ideas logically.

In an earlier study, Froe (1964) compared the performance of black freshmen enrolled at predominantly black public colleges and typical college freshmen on scholastic aptitude and achievement tests. In general, on the School and College Ability Test, or the American Council on Education Psychological Examination (both tests of academic aptitude) the black group performed in the lowest quarter in relation to typical college performance. This performance was also found to hold true for the achievement tests studied—the Cooperative English Test and the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress. This theme was echoed by Morgan (1970) who commented that black students lack linear communicative skills, fail to structure arguments logically, and are often ineffective in writing. Needham (1966) comparing black and white students at black and white Southern universities found that blacks made significantly lower average scores on the majority of the intelligence tests taken (Guilford's

test of divergent thinking, the Seeing Problems test, the Verbal Comprehension Test of the Guilford-Zimmerman Aptitude Survey), although the range of scores in all cases was wide with considerable overlap. Creativity and verbal comprehension were significantly correlated in the two white groups but not in the black group.

Knoell (1970) in a careful investigation of the extent to which black high school graduates take advantage of college opportunities followed up high school graduates in four cities. She collected considerable information on these students, and included in the battery a series of nonverbal aptitude measures. Average scores on all variables for all but one of the cities consistently fell below the national norms of all seven of the "new" tests from which information was secured. These tests emphasized performance tasks or skills not found in conventional college entrance examinations. Even so, her results seem to extend the judgment of comparatively lower levels of aptitude. On a more traditional note, she pointed out that on the California Test of Mental Maturity, Dallas students had approximately three times as many blacks earning CTMM IQ's of 104 or below as whites and one-third as many earning IQ's of 105 or more.

Bradley (1967) studied black undergraduates in white colleges and universities in Tennessee for the period 1963-1965. These students reported being handicapped by a weak academic background among other impediments to learning. Multiple regression analysis determined that scholastic success was importantly related to high school grade point average and performance on the Social Studies part of the American College Test (ACT).

Davis, Loeb and Robinson (1970) compared 152 black students enrolled at the Urbana-Champaign campus of the University of Illinois in 1966 and 1967 with the roughly 10,500 nonblack students also enrolled for those two years. Variables used for comparison were high school percentile rank and composite score on the American College Test. In general, the two groups did not differ markedly on HSPR; the nonblack sample earned significantly higher scores, on the average, on ACT than did the black group. However, the black students had average scores that were close to the general college-going norm for national samples on the ACT. Thus, while this group is somewhat lower than its white counterpart, it is probably not made up of new students in our usage of the word.

Chang (1969), in his project designed to develop norms for the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal, tested 506 freshman and

sophomore students at a predominantly black state college in the South. The majority of the students came from "deprived" backgrounds and were enrolled in the college's remedial program. The abstract suggests that the performance of students participating in the Chang study fell below the norms established for this level of student generally, and indicates that the reliability (split-half) was quite low, although the test did succeed in differentiating between remedial and nonremedial students and between men and women students.

The Southern Regional Education Board (1970) interviewed Southern black junior college students. The students expressed the opinion that standardized tests were unfair, and that remedial programs tended to make them feel unprepared and inferior, and diminished their sense of competence and place.

The results of all these reports and studies are relatively consistent and uncontradictory. Black students, to a significant extent, fall below national norms or the performance of their white counterparts on conventional tests of academic aptitude or achievement. Academic performance (e.g., high school Grade Point Average, rank in high school graduating class, etc.) is not quite so unequivocally unfavorable and there is, additionally, the fact that there are substantial differences in average level of talent according to the school at which the student is enrolled. Some students classified as needing special assistance in some schools would be among the most promising in other settings and this statement, of course, holds across all ethnic groups.

Academic Aptitudes and Skills of Other Ethnic Minorities

Almost no investigations concerning the academic aptitudes and skills of nonblack minorities in higher education have been reported in the literature. Edington (1969) reviewed the recent research pertaining to American-Indians and conveyed a melancholy picture of low and lagging achievement, high dropout rates, unemployment and underemployment. McGrath *et al.* (1962) surveyed the literature and conducted interviews with institutional and tribal officials, Indian students and dropouts in the Southwest, and found that facility with English had greater importance for success among Indians than among nonIndians.

Guerra, *et al.* (1969) studied the bicultural and bilingual problems of Mexican-American students. A number of the conference participants described the academic skill problems of Mexican-American students and

their need to improve in the skills of reading, writing and mathematics. The need for remedial courses in these areas also was cited by student participants at the conference.

Gomez and Vasquez (1969) in discussing the needs of the Chicano on the college campus, listed lack of fundamental communicative skills, inadequate command of English, and negative feelings about reading as major factors contributing to the problems of Chicanos in higher education.

Hall (1968) disclosed in his study of the relationship of college achievement to SES that the lower socioeconomic group had a high proportion of Mexican-Americans, who typically received D or F grades in the lowest available remedial English class, which factor contributed substantially to their underachievement. Robinson (1968), in a survey of Mexican-American community college students, found communicative and language problems the second most important reason given for dropping out of college.

Summary

The new students, because of the ways in which they are defined, consistently show low scores in standardized tests of academic aptitude and achievement. If they are to follow a traditional program of post-secondary study, improvement of reading, writing and speaking skills seems to be required. Past academic performance in high school may not compare unfavorably with that of traditional college students in some settings, although a pattern of low grades usually rounds out the picture of the new student. There is substantial unanimity in the descriptive analyses of the new student; how to deal with his cognitive needs and qualities provides the grounds for discussion and disagreement.

Study Skills

The skills considered important to academic performance provide a basis for investigating the new student. These study skills—effective organization and use of time, proficiency in note-taking, examination-taking skill, ability to distinguish important from irrelevant materials, as well as a variety of personality attributes associated with scholastic performance such as the inability to settle down and work—are usually thought to differentiate students according to their achievement performances and potentials.

A number of writers, who have dealt speculatively with the "disadvantaged" student, have remarked on the absence of these skills (Resnick and Kaplan, 1971b; Bossone, 1965; Clarke, 1966; Meeker, undated; Roueche, 1968; Williams, 1969). In actual studies of students, there is some conflict or question about the unanimity of these judgments. Montgomery (1970) noted that low ability community college students, who succeeded academically, had higher average scores on all areas of the Survey of Study Habits and Attitudes. Dispenzieri, *et al.* (1971) found that the SSHA did not differentiate effectively between College Discovery students and regular matriculants at CUNY junior colleges.

Low ability students studied by Young (1966) showed average SSHA scores slightly, but not significantly, below the norms for the survey. Genesee Community College (1969) reported that students in a special developmental program for low achievers had average scores equivalent to the 15th percentile on national norms on study habits, third percentile on study attitudes, and 20th percentile on study orientation. However, Rubin (1970) administered the SSHA to 29 black freshmen enrolled in a non-credit developmental reading course. According to the instructor, on eight of the stimulus statements, at least 79% of the student responses were almost diametrically opposed to their observed behavior patterns. She concluded that the students were responding as they felt they were expected to and discounted the effectiveness of self-rated attitudes as a means of discerning study habits for such students.

In an earlier report Dispenzieri, *et al.* (1968) disclosed that a high proportion of College Discovery students complain about ineffective study habits and not having time, place, or motivation to study. Tormes, as cited in Cross (1971), also studied College Discovery students and found that those who dropped out of the program reported studying less (and being aware of this tendency) than those who persisted in it. Gelso and Rowell (1967) employing Borow's College Inventory of Academic Adjustment found that students who persisted through the first year earned significantly higher scores in curricular adjustment, maturity of goals and levels of aspiration, personal efficiency, personal relations and overall adjustment than students who did not persist. Centi (1962) also used the CIAA to compare the highest and lowest ranking students in each class at a university, and found that the high ranking students earned significantly higher scores on the composite score and on the curricular adjustment, maturity of goals and level of aspiration, personal efficiency,

study skills and practices and mental health parts. Stein (1966a) reported that the more successful students in her low-testing group gave greater weight to the goal-directed use of time. Berg (1965) noted that students who report that they worked harder than the average, tend to do better; but later with Axtell (1968) he also observed that disadvantaged students report with significant frequency that they have inadequate time to study and need assistance with course work. Inner city students at American University (American University, 1969) reported that they tend less to cram, and spend more hours per week studying than the typical American University freshman entrant.

Study Skills of Black Students

Deficiencies in study skills are commonly cited as a characteristic of black students (McSwine, 1971; Froe, 1966; Knoell, 1970). Bayer and Boruch (1969a) comparing black and nonblack enrollees found that:

> In general, black and nonblack students reported similar study habits. Some differences were: proportionately more of the black students reported that they outlined their reading, shared notes with fellow students, clarified work with their instructor, made up their own practice test, memorized without understanding and failed to complete an assignment; proportionately more of the nonblack students reported that they did their homework daily, studied alone, daydreamed, and put off starting their homework.
>
> . . . Proportionately more black than nonblack students report they had come late to class or missed class; studied in the library; typed a homework assignment; turned in homework late; asked a teacher for advice; did extra reading for class [pp. 20-21].

Froe (1968) also found little difference between black and white students in their instructional preferences. Both groups seemed to prefer structured, objective, didactic work. Vittenson (1967) reporting on the areas of concern cited by black college students on the Mooney Problems Check List revealed that adjustment to college work–lack of knowledge about effective study habits, not enough time spent in study, distractibility, poor background in some subjects, fear of speaking in class–was the most significant area of concern for both men and women respondents. Women tended to show a greater incidence of concern in all areas. She advocated that much emphasis be given to the early establishment and development of good study habits.

Study Skills of Other Ethnic Minorities

McGrath (1962) in his research summary indicated that Indian students reported studying more and using the library more than nonIndians, but that Indian dropouts studied less, and spent less time in the library than nondropouts. Guerra, *et al.* (1969) in their discussion of the educational problems of Mexican-Americans, described them as lacking in basic academic skills and tools.

Summary

While there is a somewhat common assumption that certain study skills are important for educational progress, and that new students lack these skills, the evidence presented does not bear out the latter contention conclusively. This is true for four reasons.

- First, where instruments have been used they have varied so much both in content and purpose that the conclusions do not generalize well.
- Second, even where the identical instrument is used in different settings, the settings are discontinuous and thus the results not congruent. In some instances, experimental and comparison groups are contrasted; in others, persisters and nonpersisters or successes and nonsuccesses from the basic reference group are compared; and in other instances, the disadvantaged are compared with nondisadvantaged. The results are a mixture of findings and conclusions that bear more on the nature of the groups studied than on any commonalities to be found in the total population of new students.
- Third, the ability of these kinds of instruments to elicit honest responses has always been a matter of concern, and there is some evidence to indicate that they should not be relied upon too heavily in the case of the new student.
- Fourth, a few studies indicate that the new student manifests favorable study skills to a greater extent than the traditional students with whom he is compared. Some of these skills (i.e., more frequent use of the library) may be the result of an uncongenial background for home study; others (i.e., more time spent studying) tell us nothing about the relative efficiency with which the time is spent, and may reflect the American disposition to mistake quantity for quality.

Coping Behavior and Development of Academic Know-How

For the new student, the college environment is often experienced as a totally strange, unfamiliar culture. Williams (1969) said new students "view the college campus as foreign soil (p. 276)." Allen (1967) presented some sense of this in interviews with an Oriental-American and an Afro-American student at UCLA:

> "When I first came to the UCLA campus to visit, it frightened me. I thought how am I going to find my way around? How am I going to make friends here? I didn't even think I could find my classes."
>
> "It's difficult to communicate with somebody when you live in a completely different world. . . . Except that we all speak English I have just about as much in common with people at UCLA as I would going to another country."

How does the student learn to get along in this new milieu?

> "I didn't know what I wanted to be. The counselor seemed to be so anxious about it that I just said that I wanted to go into psychology. This seemed to relieve the counselor and she seemed very glad to get rid of me [Berg, 1965, p. 89]."

The implications of this point were spelled out by Resnick and Kaplan (1971b) whose assertion is that the ghetto student is not only disoriented but has little idea of what college education is or what purpose it can serve in life. The new student must decide over and over again whether the pain and difficulties of the work are worthwhile. While he or she may be expert at surviving in terms of ghetto life, unlike traditional students he does not know how to manipulate the academic environment. Stanley (1971) in discussing alternative coping skills dismissed the idea that the students who come to college the hard way need less scholastic ability, because of compensatory abilities learned in the school of hard knocks. Roueche (1968) asserted that the remedial community college student has minimal understanding of what college is or what opportunities it offers.

While the academic problems of the new student have been described at length and in detail, the ways in which these problems are met have not provided much basis for study. There is not even clear acceptance of responsibility for developing the necessary skills. Most authors contend that the institution must take the task, but the suggestions as to how the institution should actually carry out this obligation usually reflect personal opinions or views rather than strategies growing out of research.

A few writers have described the kinds of defenses new students erect to help them survive in this alien environment. Bressler (1967) and Morgan (1970) noted that apathy or withdrawal constitute one way of dealing with the higher education subculture. Morgan (1970) mentioned tendencies to reject the system and joined Atkinson, Etzioni and Tinker (1969) in discerning skill in manipulating the system for the student's own purposes. And apropos this last point, a number of writers hold that one of the primary goals of colleges should be to teach new students how to manipulate the academic environment (cf., Resnick and Kaplan, *supra*, Southern Regional Education Board, 1970). Gurin and Katz (1966) found that the psychological mechanism of projection–attributing academic problems to discrimination, or failings in the system rather than to the individual–also helped new students, and especially black students, to bear up in the academic environment. Godoy (1970) identified this mechanism at work in Mexican-American college graduates.

The actual procedures that have been followed in aiding students to develop skills and to achieve a sense of familiarity in the academic setting will be dealt with in the final section of this report.

Other Scholastic Characteristics

A number of writers have remarked on the life conditions that relate to the academic performance of the new student. Most of what they have to say is presumptive; there is little direct evidence of the effects of the conditions they specify in producing the consequences named. There is, of course, considerable empirical support for the notion that socioeconomic status and academic achievement vary directly (cf., Cassidy, *et al.*, 1968).

Clarke (1966) contended that lack of an educational tradition and an "unstable home life" add difficulty to the new student's adjustment to college; Meeker (undated) characterized the new student as one who is poor, who feels poor, who is more likely to be ill and poorly nourished, and who lives with more people in less privacy. Bossone (1965) also commented on the lack of privacy and the unesthetic physical setting. Roueche (1968) noted that minimal cultural advantages, minimum standards of living, and the likelihood of being the first of the family to attend college all mark the new student; and Froe (1966) said "the lower-class child starts with severe cultural disadvantages which appear to have a damaging and cumulative effect over time, and even though those going

on to higher education represent a high selection, the problem does not become less acute at the advanced level (p. 422)."

The new student comes from an economically deprived environment that offers little or no access to the tools and information useful to academic life. His home may not stock the kinds of artifacts that are important to collegiate activity—books, newspapers, magazines. It is crowded, noisy, or otherwise inimical to the development of the attributes of an intellectual life. Any of these conditions might hamper the student's adjustment to higher education. E. Gordon (1964) asserted that the new student shows limited ability to concentrate on a variety or wide range of academic interests, that he may manifest types of perception (such as inability to sustain attention to verbal communication) which are not conducive to academic efficiency and that he tends to favor concrete, stimulus-bound rather than abstract thinking processes. Meeker (undated) seconded this last point by referring to the functional orientation and practical outlook of the new student. Williams (1969) also spoke of the proclivity toward the immediate and tangible. In addition, the argument has also been made that other learning styles or modes tend to be favored when the individual comes from this kind of background. Friedman (1969b), for example, said that Miles College freshmen are more motor-oriented than ideational learners with much more wisdom in the larger world than in the classroom.

Dispenzieri, *et al.* (1971) noted that Yuker and Block's Intellectualism-Pragmatism test did not contribute substantially to the prediction of academic performance of College Discovery Program students; it would have been interesting to see if it differentiated between CDP students and the regularly admitted comparison group.

In addition to the learning problems that grow out of the environment the new student comes from, the minority student also must adjust to the prejudices of teachers and other students. Bradley (1967) made the valuable point that this process of adjustment has implications for how the student performs and how the performance, whatever it is, comes to be judged.

Summary

There seems to be little doubt that the new student, partly because of the way in which he is defined, shows less aptitude for college work

than the traditional student, as this quality is measured by tests. In addition, his level of skill in fundamental areas like communicative skills (which correlate closely with measures of intelligence or capacity) is quite low. There is some suggestion that the discrepancy between traditional and new students on academic performance in high school may not be quite so marked, although suggestions that this may be the case derive largely from studies of some few special and selective university programs. In light of the fact that academic performance and measured aptitude and achievement are also related (although imperfectly) the inference of differences is reasonable.

Study skills of the new student, evidence of which derives mainly from self-reports or the opinions of experts, show a somewhat different picture. The authorities contend that the new student has poor study skills, is deficient in techniques, and has not learned to perform according to the dictates of the established educational system. This contention, in view of the past performance of the new student, seems reasonable but we are faced with the fact that the hard evidence exhibits conflict. Some researchers reveal differences in practice of study skills that favor traditional or comparison or successful groups, while other reports indicate that the differences are trivial. In part this may stem from the chaotic state of the research in this area; there is no major point of view around which research focuses, and the work that is done follows the laissez-faire tendency of educational research. There is no continuity in definition of subjects or control groups, a veritable smorgasbord of tests are given, different criteria are measured and compared, and the net result is a lump of results which can be reconciled only by pointing to differences in the subjects, methods, and materials.

There are also serious questions about the validity of self-report procedures for new students or any students, for that matter. Most students know what the researcher thinks their study habits should be and are capable of presenting that information straightforwardly and straightfacedly. Finally, the meaning of some of the results needs questioning; it is one thing to say that new students and traditional students spend equal amounts of time at study; the question is more a matter of what they do in that time. Many individuals in higher education have encountered students who have become involved in a regressive study pattern and whose performances deteriorated as they tried harder. There is some evidence,

which will be treated in the next major section of this report, to suggest that this perseverative tendency may be one characteristic of the new student.

The new student comes from a totally different environment than does the traditional college student and may be more marginally situated, in terms of potential for adjustment, to the academic situation. In addition, there is the hypothesis that different learning modes or preferences may have been learned in the early environments.

All of these factors conspire to speak to the need for change in the educational procedures that are applied to the new student. The low levels of skill and ability suggest that conventional fare is inappropriate. Ordinary remedial offerings, the standard academic prosthesis, seem to be not only ineffectual but despised, partly because of their orientation, but more importantly, because of the kinds of self-hatred they seem to engender.

There are suggestions for making the curriculum more relevant and more appropriate to the abilities, skills and modes of learning of the new student. While these programs are not empirically founded, it seems fair to say that empiricism and the rational methods of inquiry have done little as yet to suggest alternatives, or to devise more effective ways of dealing with the educational needs of these students. It has been pointed out that the educational tides do not follow the moon of research; if that is true, judging from what we know about the scholastic abilities of the new student, that may be a blessing.

SECULAR CHARACTERISTICS

Those concerned with developing college level programs for the new student often try to create conditions designed to counteract personal qualities or characteristics held to be inimical to the pursuit of higher education. The new student, so the argument goes, brings many academically counter-productive characteristics to higher education, and these qualities must be changed in order for him to succeed. The list of these characteristics attributed to the new student includes anxiety and fear of failure, inability to defer or delay gratification, negative self-concept, passivity, and low need for achievement. At a research planning conference held at the Center for Research and Development in June, 1971, the directors of 14 special programs for new students were

asked to indicate the importance of a number of objectives in their programs. They rated each objective on a five-point scale with 1 signifying little or no importance and 5 indicating utmost importance as an objective. The goals or objectives presented and the mean ratings assigned to them are shown in Table 1. (See p. 32.)

While these programs reveal a tendency to try to be all things to all men, it will also be seen that noncognitive or nonintellective objectives tend to dominate. If one accepts the idea that the objectives are important or valid in their own right—that the student is better off if he acquires a feeling of self-confidence and self-worth—then there is little doubt of their appropriateness in the educational setting. If these negative qualities also inhibit academic performance, then they must be changed if the individual is to make a success of college.

What is the relationship of these secular characteristics to the educational performance of new students? With younger groups the evidence seems to point to a positive relationship between academic achievement and self-concept, need for achievement, occupational aspirations, feelings of self-competence, and level of psychological adjustment (Caplin, 1968, 1969; Deutsch, 1960; Green and Farquhar, 1965; Davidson and Greenberg, 1967; Woodruff, 1969). Coleman *et al.* (1966) in their survey of 12-th graders found that students' attitudes about themselves bore the strongest relationship to achievement, with self-concept and feeling of control of environment being most closely related to verbal skills. Coleman did point out that this relationship may reflect a consequence rather than a cause, that is, a positive self-concept may result from high scholastic achievement rather than promoting it. Katz (1969) furnished a brief and trenchant appraisal of some of the seminal research dealing with black scholastic performance. Despite his findings and others, which will be dealt with in the discussion of individual topics, (e.g., Knoell, 1970; Astin, 1970), Kendrick and Thomas (1970) concluded that, "The quest for nonintellective correlates of college success for college aspirants in general and the disadvantaged student in particular has been discouraging (p. 164)." They also noted that some research implies nonintellective factors may be useful and that predictibility will vary systematically with the nature of the student groups for which correlations are computed.

Yet, many remain convinced that nonintellective qualities bear a crucial relationship to what eventually happens to the new student, and

TABLE 1 Objectives for New Students

Objective	*Mean Rating*
Enhance the student's self-image	4.60
Remove barriers to asking for or finding help with school or personal problems	4.43
Improve academic performance generally	4.36
Hold or retain the student in college	4.36
Provide the student with success experiences	4.36
Reduce anxiety about and fear of failure in the collegiate setting	4.29
Teach the student how to get along on his own	4.21
Develop positive study skills and attitudes	4.21
Improve or instill self-confidence	4.21
Help the student "adjust" to college	4.07
Overcome or compensate for inadequate previous preparation	4.00
Improve academic performance in specific courses	3.77
Inform the student about rules, regulations and procedures	3.77
Increase willingness or readiness to undertake new tasks	3.71
Change attitudes toward self and school	3.62
Improve skills in reading	3.57
Improve skills in writing	3.50
Improve skills in speaking	3.36
Increase educational aspirations	3.31
Assist in developing the nonacademic talents of the individual	3.29
Develop personal connections or ties in the institution	3.23
Improve ability to compete with peers	3.00
Enable the student to defer gratification or work toward future goals	2.92
Attach greater importance to and commitment to college attendance	2.86
Provide skills for job and family responsibilities	2.85

the literature contains a number of lists of such properties (cf., Ware and Gold, 1971; E. Gordon, 1967; Wortham, undated; Clift, 1969a; Martyn, 1969; Kitano and Miller, 1970; Gold, 1966).

W. Moore (1970) prescribed ways these secular characteristics (many of them ascribed) should be dealt with by administrators, faculty, and student personnel workers in the community college. Atkinson, Etzioni and Tinker (1969) examined the hypothesized relationship between affective qualities of black students and black studies programs, giving special attention to curricular innovation in their analysis. Some case studies also mentioned noncognitive characteristics of new students that allegedly interfere with academic performance or simply do not fit with the standard, middle-class curricula (Cottle, 1971; Mayerson, 1965; G. Moore, 1972).

In this section we summarize the literature that deals with some of the secular or non-cognitive attributes of new students. For each topic we have tried to establish the integrity of the characterization—for example, is there general agreement that anxiety and fear of failure aptly describe the new student?—and to determine if the characteristic has been found to bear a relationship to college academic performance. The classification of studies under topic headings is arbitrary; and the looseness of terminology and lack of consistency in definitions of concepts may disturb the reader. We were also disturbed by this; however we cannot transcend the discontinuities and ambiguities of the literature itself, although we tried to deal with it as systematically as possible.

SELF-CONCEPT

Most of the writers who have tried to describe the new student agree that he or she manifests what is variously termed as a negative or low self-concept, self-esteem, self-image, self-regard, or self-identity. This quality, however designated, is said to be closely associated with feelings of lack of self-confidence, worth, dignity, or assurance; a sense of inferiority, self-hatred, self-rejection; and anxiety and fear of failure in the academic setting. The new student is ". . . a stranger and afraid in a place he never made (Pearl, 1972)." These writers see the amelioration of these feelings, considered a major obstacle to the academic success, as a serious problem and paramount responsibility of the institution of higher education.

Because of the large number of writers who have touched on this general point, we have simply grouped and listed the names of those authors who have not followed research procedures in attributing a diminished self-concept to the new student. Some sense of the flavor of their statements is conveyed by the following quotations:

> The thing I think that the guys here have, that I'm not going to have, I fear, for a long, long time . . . is guts. Or confidence [Cottle, 1971, p. 42, quoting a nonelite white student].

> The result of this misuse of psychological tests by psychometricians is that many Mexican Americans have come to have a negative self-concept of themselves. The negative self-concept has taken the form of the Chicano child perceiving himself as a failure in the educational setting; and has consequently resulted in his withdrawal from it only to find increased negative stereotypes of himself as an illiterate uneducated burden on society [Padilla, 1971, p. 11].

> Many of the (Negro students in racially integrated learning situations) tend to possess feelings of debasement which create considerable anxiety that mitigates (*sic*) against maximum use of their academic resources [Boney, 1967, p. 316].

Clift (1970) in dealing with this general topic said:

> Much of the useless rhetoric on the education of the disadvantaged reveals that educators who are writing on this subject do not understand the factors that account for it. The result is we deal with symptoms rather than the root causes for the pathology itself. For example, what does it do to the individual child when he comes from a group that has been relegated to inferior status? To reply that he develops a negative self-image and a deeply ingrained feeling of inferiority is a woefully inadequate answer. This does not establish a direct relationship between the events and forces in the life of the individual and the development of his ego and personality structure [p. 224].

Those who have mentioned negative self-concept and the feelings arising from it, and the student group context in which they observed it, include:

New Students (Undifferentiated)

(Allen, 1967; Arbuckle, 1969; Atkinson, Etzioni, and Tinker, 1969; Bell, 1969; Bess, 1970; Clarke, 1971; Clift, 1969b; Center for Research

and Development in Higher Education–WICHE, 1970; Crossland, 1971; Gordon, E., 1964, 1967; Greising, 1969; Kitano and Miller, 1970; Martyn, 1969; Petrie, 1971; Tinker, 1970; Vontness, 1969; Ware and Gold, 1971; Wilson, undated; Wortham, undated)

Community College Students

(Bossone, 1965; Clarke, 1966; Dansereau, 1969)

Black Students

(Bressler, 1967; Cardoso, 1969; Delco, 1969; Durley, 1969; Friedman, 1969a, 1969b; Harper, 1971; Johnson, 1971; Joseph, 1969; Knoell, 1970; Kvaraceus, *et al.*, 1965; McSwine, 1971; Miller, 1969; Noble, 1966, 1969; Poussaint and Atkinson, 1968; Pruitt, 1970; Resnick and Kaplan, 1971a, 1971b; Southern Regional Education Board, 1970; Vontness, 1969, 1970)

Mexican-American Students

(Cottle, 1972; Franklin, *et al.*, 1969; Gomez and Vasquez, 1969; Guerra, *et al.*, 1969; Rodriguez, 1968)

Puerto Rican Students

(Mayerson, 1965)

Indian Students

(Ludeman. 1960).

For the most part these writers are inclined to blame the dominant majority and its discriminatory, ethnocentric, and racist tendencies for producing these feelings, and they express the need for fundamental reforms, both in the larger society and in the educational system, to counteract these destructive trends. A few of these authors touched on the importance of the attempts of minorities to supplant white standards and values and in at least one instance (Mesa, 1971) the claim was advanced that Chicano high school students no longer hold the negative self-images.

Simpson (1970) commented critically on some of the attempted reforms in higher education, contending that permissive college admissions policies and well-intended benevolent academic practices actually harm the student's self-concept by destroying motivation, goals and self-respect.

The self-concept of new students has not only met with considerable comment and opinion, it has also been the object of a substantial amount of research. Zirkel (1971) compiled a useful review of the literature dealing with self-concept and the effect on it of ethnic-group mixture. He characterized the research as lacking consistency, clarity, and completeness; the findings equivocal and inconclusive, a judgment with which we concur.

To summarize the work in this area we organized the presentation around several topics. We discuss, first, descriptive studies of various groups of new students (ethnically undifferentiated, blacks, other minorities); next we deal with investigations that make comparisons of groups, e.g., black vs. white, lower vs. upper SES; then we consider the question of the relationship of self-concept to academic achievement; and, finally, we present a few investigations that do not fit into any of the other categories.

Descriptive Studies–Undifferentiated Groups

Cross (1971) consolidated and synthesized considerable data taken from large-scale surveys. The data indicate that disadvantaged students (those scoring in the lowest third on measures of aptitude) manifest a high level of anxiety and fear of failure in the academic situation. This tendency, rooted in experience, results in failure-threatened personalities. "New students . . . are less confident of their abilities; they avoid risk situations where possible . . . (p. 30)."

Women, she argued, are especially apt to have a diminished self-concept for reasons analogous to the ones that produce the same quality in ethnic minorities. Programmed into special sex-linked areas of study or work, and taught to play subservient roles, they question their ability and manifest more insecurity and anxiety in class than men do (Cross, 1968b, 1971). This tendency to lower self-confidence also marks the junior college student, who rates himself considerably lower in academic ability, leadership ability, mathematical ability and intellectual self-confidence than do peers at four-year colleges or universities (Cross, 1968a).

Berg and Axtell (1968) had 1068 students at 24 California community colleges complete a questionnaire, some aspects of which dealt with student needs and problems. Defining "advantaged" or "disadvantaged" in terms of a number of factors relating to father's education,

ethnic group background, occupational level of family wage earner, family income, problems with money, and receipt of a daily newspaper, they compared the advantaged and disadvantaged student responses to questions on present needs and problems. The same comparisons were also made between Caucasian and minority students and between Mexican-Americans and Afro-Americans. No significant differences were found between any of the three sets of comparison groups on confusion about or need for assistance in "straightening myself out." Caucasian students claimed significantly more confusion about goals and plans, and greater feelings of insecurity and shyness, and the not-disadvantaged expressed a greater amount of difficulty about relationships with other persons. The authors note that the disadvantaged and not-disadvantaged appear to be more alike than different with respect to aspirations, programs, and sources of help.

Descriptive Studies of Black Students

Epps (1969) studied large samples of high school students in inner city schools in the North and South. Using Brookover's Self Concept of Ability scale and Rosenberg's measure of self-esteem, he found that the four subgroups of students, northern males, northern females, southern males, and southern females did not differ materially in their mean scores on either measure. He also administered an abbreviated version of Mandler and Sarason's *Test Anxiety Questionnaire* and found that males had lower averages than females and northern students had lower means than those from the south. Gaston (1971) also surveyed northern and southern college students from both urban and rural settings and found that southern students made slightly higher scores on the Conflict, Total Positive, and Defensive Positive scores of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. The total positive score was described as an overall measure of self-esteem. A low score on the Defensive-Positive scale was said to reflect lack of defenses for maintaining even minimal self-esteem, and the Conflict scale appraised inconsistencies in the same areas of self-perception, and served as an internal check on validity.

Derbyshire and Brody (1964) and Derbyshire (1966) assessed identity conflict in 102 black Morgan State College sociology majors. The results, while not directly relevant to this topic, led the researchers to hypothesize two kinds of identity–personal and social–and also suggested

considerable personal conflicts about being black. Derbyshire described the educated black person as being in an ambiguous marginal position because of "the white social world's prescriptive-proscriptive dichotomy and his resultant identity conflict (Derbyshire, 1966, p. 20)." This point was reinforced by Kiernan and Daniels (1967) who followed up a small group of black students who had gone through personal counseling in a community college. They found that the attempted transition from lower- to middle-class status invoked "personal anxiety, bitterness, hatred of oneself, one's group and the group to which one aspired (p. 135)."

Bradley (1967) surveyed 929 black college students attending integrated colleges in Tennessee. In response to a question about what helped them most in the interracial college, commonly cited factors were said to be inner determination and strength, a drive to excel, self-confidence, and race pride. Vittenson (1967) administered the *Mooney Problem Check List* to 100 black students at Illinois Teacher's College and noted considerable feelings of inadequacy and a tendency for these feelings to be translated into anxiety and worry, both general and attached to specific activities like study habits, fear of failure, etc. She advocated the use of role models because she believes their use would strengthen students' egos and minimize their psychological feelings of inferiority.

Gurin and Katz (1966) in their valuable analysis and appraisal of motivation and aspiration in black college students noted, in passing, that high anxiety about failure and low achievement values are more relevant than self-confidence for explaining underaspiration. They offered some cogent suggestions for fostering self-confidence in black students which they evidently regard as not sufficiently well developed for academic success.

These studies of black students reveal no pronounced geographical trends in self-concept. Entry into higher education, especially in racially mixed settings, seems to exacerbate problems of anxiety and identity.

Descriptive Studies–Other Minorities

Hoffman (1969) explored the connections between self-concept, academic self-assessment, and the educational aspirations of 158 adolescent Indian boys living in economically depressed areas. Self-concept was found to be moderately and positively related to educational aspirations, as was academic self-assessment. Self-concept was independent of age but

was found to be lower in the case of disrupted (mother or both parents deceased) families. It tended to co-vary with some of the more conventional SES indicators (educational level of father or mother, occupational level of father) but the relationships were not high.

Robinson (1968) surveyed the attitudes of 53 Mexican-American students toward Cerritos (California) College to discover possible reasons for their fellow Mexican-Americans' disinterest in attending college or their reasons for dropping out. When asked to indicate the importance of inferiority feelings as a reason for dropping or not attending college, the respondents attached some importance to this, but gave this factor less weight than a number of other reasons, including economic pressure, communicative and language problems, problems with teachers and curriculum, and the preference for working and earning a living, rather than studying.

Comparative Studies of Self-Concept

Studies in this section are grouped according to the types of groups compared. The first investigations either make no ethnic distinctions or present comparisons of a number of different groups. The large number of black-white comparisons follow these, and then the white-white, black-black or black-white comparisons with SES parameters are considered. The few studies concerning Mexican-Americans are found at the end of this section.

General Comparisons

Coleman *et al.* (1966) asked three questions to obtain what they termed an indication of the self-concept of ninth- and twelfth-grade students. The following three questions were asked:

> How bright do you think you are in comparison with other students in your grade?
>
> Agree or disagree: I sometimes feel I just can't learn.
>
> Agree or disagree: I would do better in schoolwork if teachers didn't go so fast.

The responses did not indicate differences between blacks and whites, but did reveal differences between these two and other minority groups who do exhibit lower self-concepts, according to the authors, who stated:

> It is puzzling to some analysts that the Negro children report levels of self-esteem as high as white when there is so much in their social environment to reduce the self-esteem of a Negro, and those analysts conjecture that these responses may not mean what their face value suggests [p. 288].

There is, of course, the alternative view that responses to these kinds of questions are significantly shaped by the situation to which they refer. If school quality relates to ethnic group membership and particularly to membership in the black group (as the Coleman Report elsewhere suggests) then, even if there are real differences in self-concept across ethnic groups, they do not necessarily differ in response patterns when the frame of reference shifts from group to group. Another point worth noting, however, is the fact that blacks in both nonmetropolitan and metropolitan settings show a nonresponse rate that consistently is considerably greater than that of whites. For example, white metropolitan southerners have a nonresponse rate of 3 percent to the third question reproduced above; blacks from the same area have a 24 percent nonresponse rate to the same question. Other minorites also show a higher nonresponse rate than do whites. The effect of this tendency cannot be estimated, but it doubtless introduces a measure of incomparability.

In a localized investigation of Los Angeles City College probationers—students in the lowest decile on the national norms for the School and College Ability Test—Young (1966) commented that the level of self-confidence reported by these students was not congruent with the expectations and demands of the institution. The low levels of skills and competencies manifested by the students did not support the relatively strong feelings of self-confidence held by the individuals. Cutsumbis (1968) administered selected items from the *Mooney Problems Check List* to two samples of midwestern university students, and related anxiety as reflected in MPCL responses to other socioeconomic indicators: religious affiliation, parental ethnicity, grandparental ethnicity, social class. The only factor related to anxiety was social class, and this was not a straightforward relationship, although the lowest group on the North-Hatt social class scale consistently showed the highest level of anxiety for both samples and both sexes.

Soares and Soares (1971b) compared disadvantaged and advantaged high school boys and found the disadvantaged had both higher self-

concepts and grade expectations. However self-concept and actual grades were not related.

Comparisons of Blacks and Whites

The studies comparing the self-concept of black and white students have provided a smorgasbord of results. Some favor blacks, some whites, some indicate no differences, and some are mixed or unclear. In the studies that indicate no differences, Butler (1971) employed the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale to study changes in self-concept after one semester in college, for groups of southern whites and blacks enrolled at a black southern and two predominantly white universities, one southern, one midwestern. The students were chosen randomly from individuals whose aggregate SAT scores ranged from 700-800 and whose families had incomes of less than $7,500. The major analyses indicated changes in self-concept were independent of urban or rural background (sex and race controlled) and that favorable changes in self-concept were not associated with the type of institution attended, or ethnic group membership. Butler did not make direct comparison or pre- or post-test means of ethnic groups, but inspection of his tables seems to suggest that there are no regional or sex differences on the total positive score on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. We made no attempt to apply rigorous tests to these differences, because the standard deviations of the raw scores transformed to McCall's *T* given in his Tables 1 and 2, seemed inconsistent with the definition of a normalized distribution. However, there were rather substantial mean differences on some of the subscales for women from different regions (within ethnic groups) with white southern women scoring high on Physical, Moral-Ethical, Personal and Family Self, Conflict, and Variability scales. Black women did not show this consistent pattern although there were, seemingly, differences on a number of scales. Mean scores for men did not, in general, differ greatly according to region (within ethnic groups or across ethnic groups).

Astin (1970), using A.C.E. Student Information Form data, compared black and white disadvantaged students with randomly drawn black and nonblack students. Defining self-concept as a series of self-ratings on academic ability, drive to achieve, leadership ability, intellectual self-confidence, social self-confidence, sensitivity to criticism, stubbornness and understanding of others, she found that "black disadvantaged and

black random scored higher than nonblacks on 'drive to achieve,' 'social self confidence,' and 'understanding of others.' On the other hand, nonblacks scored higher than blacks on 'leadership ability,' 'intellectual self-confidence' and 'sensitivity to criticism.' It appears that the black student's self-concept—whether disadvantaged or random—is quite positive. Although they have somewhat more doubts about their intellectual skills, they score high on 'drive to achieve' and feel adequate socially (p. 14)." Retested after one year, disadvantaged and random students both showed some tendency toward enhanced self-esteem, although the shift mainly entailed a reduction in the percentage of average ratings with a concomitant increase in above average ratings as well. This occurred in all categories except "leadership ability," where disadvantaged students had fewer below average as well as more above average ratings on retest. Test-retest analyses, regrettably, were not conducted across ethnic groups, and sex was not represented as a dimension in any of the tables. Thus, relating these data to the ones summarized by Cross (1968a, 1968b) using the same scales is not possible. Since Cross dealt with groups that might be expected to have lower self-confidence (community college students, women), while Astin defined her groups largely along economic lines, the fact that the results do not coincide is not altogether surprising.

Hunt and Hardt (1969) administered the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scales and a self-evaluated intelligence measure repeatedly over a 21-month period to 213 black and 90 white Upward Bound students. On both measures blacks scored slightly and probably nonsignificantly higher mean scores than their white counterparts. In addition, on the self-esteem scale, there was a significant increase in mean scores from the initial to the final test for both groups.

Lanza (1970) developed a Self-Esteem Inventory that he administered to black and white, male and female freshmen at Ball State University, or the University of Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College. He found no significant relationships to exist between self-esteem and race or sex, except in the case of Ball State white males, who scored significantly higher mean scores than Ball State black males. He also tried to identify the antecedents of self-esteem and named a number of family characteristics or practices that seem to differentiate students with high and low self-esteem. Studying college students from three different southern universities (Tulane, Louisiana State University at New Orleans,

and Dillard), Needham (1966) found no consistent racial differences on the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. Such differences as were noted on this inventory appeared to be more a function of class standing and age.

Other investigators have found differences that favor white students. Hedegard and Brown (1969) administered a variety of questionnaires to a random sample of white freshmen and to a group of black students brought into the University of Michigan under a special program for disadvantaged minority groups. The blacks reported a greater sense of detachment than white students did, and a reluctance to try to change the environment or to seek new and exciting situations. Along with this, black males reported a greater tendency to keep themselves under tight emotional control and more frequent difficulty in lifting depressions. The authors suggested that black males employ strong emotional defenses against the stresses of adapting to the university environment, thus precipitating high anxiety. On the Omnibus Personality Inventory, black men showed a high response bias and a high need for social approval.

McClain (1967) administered Cattell's Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire to approximately 300 black undergraduate students at two southern colleges. Comparing the mean scores to the publisher's norms for the questionnaire, he found that his subjects reported themselves as significantly more outgoing, practical, affected by feelings and controlled, and significantly less intelligent than the norm group. In addition, women regarded themselves as more tough-minded, suspicious, shrewd, and apprehensive, while men were more humble, venturesome, conservative, and group-dependent. On the secondary factors, both sexes had a significantly low score on the failure scale and in tender-minded emotionality; women showed high anxiety and men had a markedly low mean in subduedness. These results indicate considerable divergence of black college students from the norms. McClain attributed these differences to the students' backgrounds, naming bad schools and a matriarchal family structure as two important elements in the differentiating process.

H. Lewis (1967) compared samples of white and black students enrolled at the Universities of Pennsylvania and Florida on an author-constructed Self-Concept Inventory. He found significant differences in scores on specific measures of the self-concept among the groups, with southern whites having the highest average scores, followed by northern blacks, northern whites, and southern blacks.

Williams and Bryars (1968) had 134 black and 176 white senior high school students complete the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. On 12 of the 17 dimensions that constitute the scale, the combined black group (males and females) scored significantly below the white sample: these scales were Moral-Ethical Self; Personal Self; Social Self; Self-Criticism (obvious defensiveness); Defensive Positive (subtle defensiveness); Total Conflict (confusion and contradiction in self-perception); Distribution, True/False Ratio (response set or response bias); Personality Integration (empirical personal adjustment scale); Personality Disorder (basic personality defects), and the General Maladjustment and Psychosis (empirical psychotic scale). Interestingly, the Total Positive Self scale, an aggregate of the five dimensions of self-evaluation did not differentiate between groups. The authors interpreted their findings to mean that black students were low in self-confidence, defensive on their self-descriptions, confused concerning their self-identity, and similar in their performances to neurotic and psychotic individuals. The fact of attendance at an integrated or segregated school did not bear on the results.

A number of studies have indicated that blacks exhibit more affirmative self-concepts than do whites with whom they are compared. Bartee (1968) randomly selected groups of 50 disadvantaged freshmen and 50 disadvantaged seniors from a private black college; like groups were also chosen from a newly integrated state university; a control group of 50 disadvantaged white and black students was also selected from both institutions, as well as 20 disadvantaged blacks from the state university. Disadvantagement was defined by eligibility for financial aid according to USOE standards and parental educational attainment. All subjects in this study also completed the Tennessee Self Concept scale. The results indicated that both disadvantaged and control groups exhibited low self-concepts, with the contradictory patterns of self-perception. Two of the black groups scored lowest in self-concept. The author took these data to refute other findings of low self-concept in blacks, and suggested that the increased availability of higher education to the disadvantaged, particularly blacks, has had positive effects on self-esteem and self-concept. This was especially true, she noted, in light of the increased self-esteem observed in comparisons of freshmen and seniors, particularly in the black sample.

R.E. Bailey (1971) administered the Mooney Problems Check List to 741 black and 928 white junior and senior high school students attending

segregated schools. The number and type of problems were analyzed according to the sex, race, and SES of the respondents. The results indicated that the number of problems reported varied inversely with SES; women indicated more problems than men, and blacks (excepting high school males) reported fewer problems than whites.

In another comparison of black and white college students, Forbes and Gipson (1969) administered, among other testing devices, the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale and the Marlowe-Crowne Need for Social Approval Scale to 20 black and 30 white students at a small, church-affiliated, midwestern university. The results generally did not agree with popular stereotypes of the black student, who scored significantly lower in anxiety and in need for social approval than did whites.

Hodgkins and Stakenas (1969) had 50 white college and 45 white high school students complete the same measure of self-concept as 102 black college and 37 black high school students. All subjects were from the South. The measure, based on Osgood's Semantic Differential and consisting of 27 bipolar items, dealt with the concept "Me in School." The results showed that blacks scored above white subjects in self-adjustment and self-assurance. Additional analyses indicated that socio-economic status, within race, did not differentiate but that sex did, with black women showing consistently higher scores than their white counterparts. The authors suggested that blacks, who are segregated within a hostile racial environment, have the same likelihood of developing a favorable or unfavorable self-concept relative to a situation as do white subjects. Of special interest in this study is the low level of self-assurance and self-adjustment of white females.

In another application of the semantic differential technique, Kapel and Wexler (1970) administered such a device to 278 freshmen (regularly enrolled and high-risk black) at Glassboro State College. Three factors—evaluation, potency, and activity—were assessed on four scales for each of six stimuli. The stimuli were black students, professors, Afro-American courses, Glassboro State College, white students, and "me-myself." The data were subjected to analyses according to sex, student classification, and race, which is the dimension of interest here. Racial differences occurred. On the evaluation factor, all students viewed themselves as being high and their racial opposites as low. Whites attached less importance to being white than blacks did to being black. Whites rated Afro-American courses lower, professors higher than blacks. On potency, all considered

blacks to be potent, and blacks had a significantly higher self-concept on potency than whites. Whites regarded Afro-American courses as more potent, and professors and the college as less potent than did blacks. On the activity factor no racial differences were noted. The authors saw the results as reflecting the new pride of being black. However, being black can be and doubtless is important in terms of this test without necessarily reflecting a favorable or prideful judgment; instead a sensitive awareness of the fact of being black may be involved. Other results, including relatively lower acceptance of whites by blacks, and relatively higher negative judgments of blacks by whites, lent themselves to the conclusion that a definite polarization of acceptance by race is occurring.

Other Comparisons

The foregoing comparisons of black and white students on self-concept are so inconsistent, and the results so variable, that they do not lend themselves to any hard conclusions. The measures used, the groups studied, the time and the place at which the study took place all have some bearing on the results. And factors other than ethnicity may be involved. Several investigators have examined the relationship of SES to self-concept. Carol Kaye in Cassidy *et al.* (1968), a voluminous study of the impact of a high-demand university on working class youth, suggested that a linear relationship holds between social class origin and subjective feelings of inadequacy. Lower class males arrive at college with greater feelings of inadequacy and lower self-esteem, and are more likely to be self-deprecating and to require more support. The small group of students with low test scores were subdivided into two subgroups—successes and failures—and interviewed. While the size and composition of the groups made any generalizations inappropriate—only eight individuals were in each group, and the failure group was made up entirely of women—some sense of the students' bewilderment and their intense need for gentle acceptance to allay insecurity is conveyed in the account.

Kaye's subjects were mainly white. Gurin and Epps (1966) compared black southern college students from varying SES levels, as defined by income groupings. They found that the income groups did not differ in broad personality dispositions, which are presumably relevant to achievement, on the Mandler-Sarason Test Anxiety Scale. The levels of self-confidence across groups were also equivalent.

Styles (1970) in an intensive comparison of regular and high-risk black freshmen enrolled at Florida State University and at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University defined self-concept in terms of semantic differential responses to activities (e.g., sports) or relationships (e.g., to whites, other blacks, peers, etc.). Using analyses conducted over three dimensions (school, sex, enrollment status) she found no differences in self-concept in sports, or in relation to whites, school, or social activities. In general, high-risk students and students at Florida State University, which is predominantly white, tended to have lower self-concepts than regular students in relation to peers, other blacks and adults. Women, especially those enrolled at Florida State University, generally showed the most diminished self-concepts.

Woodruff (1968, 1969) studied the effect of degree of personality integration as influenced by social and racial group membership upon the educational achievement and vocational behavior of 226 Detroit High School seniors selected as representative of the population along social class and racial dimensions. The Harrower Large Scale Rorschach Test was used as a measure of personality integration and is associated with racial and social class membership. Female lower-class black students were said to be in especially dire need of psychological services, with 53% of the group exhibiting personality maladjustment and about 20% manifesting what the author termed "severe personality disintegration," a rate six times greater than the one for female middle-class whites. However, there is no difference in personality adjustment for male and female students generally, for black and white middle-class males *and females*, and for black and white middle-class males. His comparison of black and white females from different classes (when class is, according to the author, the most important determinant of personality integration) must be termed mystifying, if not improper, since lower-class females, regardless of race, have equivalent needs for psychological assistance.

Woodruff used these data as part of a larger analysis to advocate a "compensatory counseling" procedure to establish and promote a more positive image of self among black students. Similar steps might also be useful for lower-class whites.

Finally, we come to the few comparative studies of self-concept that examine others than the black minority. Carter (1968) administered a self-image questionnaire (again based on a semantic differential procedure)

to Mexican-American and Anglo ninth-graders residing in a rural agricultural community in California. He found little difference in views of self between the groups, and both groups had generally positive views of themselves. Low SES and disadvantagement do not necessarily result in a lowered self-concept, the author contended. Interpretation of some behavior as reflecting a negative self-image may simply represent a projection by members of the dominant culture or an ethnocentric interpretation of the behavior. The author noted the diversity of the Mexican-American community and warned against generalizations concerning such a heterogeneous group.

Godoy (1970) interviewed 51 Mexican-American college graduates, comparing them with a matched group of Mexican-American noncollege graduates. The college sample had a strong sense of identity with their cultural heritage and believed that environmental conditions and discrimination were the main reasons for the Mexican-American's unfavorable SES position. He recommended that college programs be developed to restore a strong sense of cultural identity, although the form that such programs might take was not spelled out in his recommendation.

Predictive Validity of the Self-Concept

The keen interest in self-concept stems in part from the belief that self perceptions bear a direct relationship to academic performance. There is some evidence to support this contention. That the self-concept has predictive validity (in relation to academic achievement) for younger students has been shown by Caplin (1968), Deutsch (1960), and Katz (1968), among others.

In studies of older students, R.C. Bailey (1971) compared random samples of 35 male and 15 female students in an effective study course ("underachievers") with 35 male and 15 female introductory psychology students ("achievers") on two self-rating scales, the Self Scale and the Ideal Self Scale. Both groups were found to be comparable in, and below average in, ability for college work. On both scales the achievers earned significantly higher mean scores than the underachievers. The author asserted that the achieving student's self-concept includes an image of a higher achieving self, and that such an image provides both goals and motivation for college. Garneski (1966) found high and low-ability students approached college with more concern than capable students.

Woodruff's (1968) hypothesis that favorable adjustment, as measured by the Harrower Large Scale Rorschach Test, is positively related to grade point average in school was supported at the p=.01 level. His subjects were a random and representative sample of Detroit high school seniors. Katz (1969) reported that school anxiety, characteristic of lower-class children, is related to academic achievement, is modifiable by school conditions, and seems to be associated with higher levels of self-criticism even when actual performance of good and poor students on the same task is equivalent.

Green and Farquhar (1965) found that academic self-concept of the Michigan M scales bore the closest relationship of a number of cognitive and noncognitive measures to achievement for 11th grade blacks. For boys the correlation was +.36; for girls it was +.64. The measure of academic self-concept also correlated significantly with achievement for white students, but in the case of the white samples self-concept did not forecast achievement as well as a more conventional test of verbal aptitude.

Di Cesare *et al.* (1970) studied black students who dropped out after one term at the University of Maryland, on 29 demographic and attitudinal variables, comparing them with black students who reregistered for the second term. Blacks who returned to their studies showed more self-confidence and were more likely to have strong self-concepts and more realistic attitudes about the university than their nonpersisting peers.

Dispenzieri *et al.* (1968) noted that "an initial lack of confidence in the ability to overcome problems either through their own efforts or through the use of external resources may be a primary factor" (p. 49) in differentiating between survivors and dropouts from the multi-ethnic CUNY College Discovery Program. Stein (1966b) compared 64 successful and 172 unsuccessful students who were admitted to Los Angeles City College on probation because of very low entrance test scores. Success, modestly defined, entailed completing some nonremedial work with a C or higher average. The students answered a series of three 27-item questionnaires which secured judgments about the behavior of an ideal student, "self as student," and the college's expectations of the student. The items did not probe percepts of self-regard or self-esteem, as has been true of other studies in this area. However, when dealing with the fact that the chance of failure is much greater if the student enters Los Angeles City

College from a largely black Los Angeles high school, rather than an ethnically mixed high school or a segregated southern school, the author hypothesized:

> The greater self-esteem resultant from the high secondary-school marks with which our entrants from southern schools often arrive, as well as the selection process involved in the family decision to send a youngster away from home to attend college, may grant an advantage to this entrant over a local Negro one [pp. 18-19].

She did go on to note, however, that one of the distinguishing characteristics of this whole group (whether successful or not) is a fairly high level of self-esteem as a student.

In somewhat more rigorous studies, Bradley (1967) found that something he labeled the "confidence and ability factor" factored out of the Clark and Plotkin questionnaire, gave the highest increment (after high school GPA) to the multiple correlation with overall college grade point average for 253 Tennessee black undergraduate students. Epps (1969) in his survey of northern and southern black students, also found that self-concept of ability as evaluated by Brookover's scale was the strongest personality correlate of grades in college and was relatively independent of verbal ability. Self-esteem is also positively related but not as strongly. Epps also found SES to be significantly and positively related to self-concept of ability but independent of self-esteem.

Clarke and Ammons (1970) correlated scores on *How I See Myself*, a questionnaire which probes student self-concept in a number of dimensions (Teacher-School, Physical Appearance, Interpersonal Adequacy, Autonomy, Boy-Social, and Girl-Social), with first semester GPA at St. Petersburg, Florida, Junior College. The subjects were all first-time freshmen; 37 black males, 48 black females, 923 white males, 683 white females. The Teacher-School factor entered significantly into the prediction equations for all but black males, augmenting the relationship yielded by conventional academic predictors (total score on the Florida 12th grade test battery, School and College Ability Test scores). The authors concluded that attitudes toward self and toward one's environment are significant factors in school achievement, and they spelled out a number of instructional and curricular implications which derive from this finding, although they paid little attention to the demonstrated importance of traditional measures. Since they reported data only for the four

sex-ethnic groups, one assumes that they define disadvantagement as membership in the black group, but the promise of the title they chose for their article, "Identification and Diagnosis of Disadvantaged Students," is not fulfilled in the text.

And, finally, Hall (1968) appraised community college students, classified according to SES. Students of Mexican-American background dominated the lower socioeconomic group. On the California Inventory of Self-Appraisal, one of the devices used in the comparisons, the middle-class group had a higher self-concept than the lower-class group, who, in their turn, displayed higher scores on the moral and social values scales. Middle-class nonachievers had significantly higher scores on the peer relationships, self-concept, and interest pattern scales than the other groups, while lower-class nonachievers had high moral and social value scores.

The various measures of self-concept or self-esteem used in this group of studies may be useful to predicting academic achievement in either disadvantaged or general populations. The ability to differentiate high from low-achieving students that these scales manifest, indicates that a favorable self-concept is an element in educational attainment and its betterment a legitimate concern of all who share in the responsibility for the education of students at all levels.

Other Studies of Self-Concept

Two of the studies dealt with earlier in this section—Kapel and Wexler (1970) and Bartee (1968) noted what they inferred to be changes in self-concept of black students. Banks (1970) and Friedman (1966), who studied the temporal modification of self-concept in black college students, agreed with this observation. It seems unlikely that the changes they discussed are not, in fact, occurring, so that it is proper to point out that, regardless of its importance as a descriptive element and predictor of academic performance, it is hazardous to infer very much about the self-concept of new students—especially those with minority affiliations. Times are changing rapidly, and people are changing with them. What seemed true five years ago may not hold today.

Summary

Earlier we suggested that studies of self-concept fail consistently to differentiate between groups of students subdivided ethnically or by socioeconomic status because most of the studies permit the students to

give their self-perceptions in relation to a self-defined situation. With more commonality in the referent, more consistent difference might be found, but as it stands now, there is no convincing evidence to suggest that ethnic groups or socioeconomic categories can be discriminated in terms of self-concept.

When the new student is defined by other terms, according to ability level, for example, the results become more clear-cut, although they carry no surprises. Students who have experienced or just barely avoided academic failure for most of their school years, for example, can be expected to manifest anxiety and fear of failure or a low self-concept in an advanced academic setting.

Still, the self-concept seems to be a consistently valid predictor of academic performance. While not so powerful as more conventional indices in most instances, it adds usefully to multiple predictions. This tends to support our view that if the measures were made specific to a situation, consistent differentiations between groups might result. Self-concept will effectively discriminate between achievers and nonachievers; it should be no less effective in identifying other groups responding about themselves in relation to a given setting or problem.

One of the findings arising from the large number of studies we have considered here—and one that awaits further and more directed research—is the fairly consistent response that women, as a group, have the most seriously damaged or lowest concepts of self. At the college student level this seems not to be so true of black women; but white women, lower-class women, white southern women, and women from other minorities all contribute to a morbid picture of low self-esteem, lack of self-confidence, and an unwillingness to take risks or to be venturesome, which suggests the impact of cultural conditioning. Perhaps with the gathering impetus of the Women's Movement this will soon change, but the evidence now at hand suggests that women, more than any other group, suffer from deficiencies in this attribute.

MOTIVATION, MOTIVATIONAL BARRIERS, NEED FOR ACHIEVEMENT

The concept of motivation, in its many manifestations, definitions and guises falls high on the list of psychological cliches. The failure of intelligence tests to predict scholastic performance with more precision

than they do often calls forth the lame comment *qua* explanation, "If we only had a way of understanding motivation, we would do better." Yet, the concept has met with an enormous amount of study and certainly enjoys considerable prestige as an explanatory construct on both the individual and the societal levels. Motivation is often postulated as the secret ingredient in individual success stories and the need for achievement is presented as one of the distinguishing features of Western and, especially, American society.

The concept acquires special force when applied to the new student. This may derive in part from the tendency to attach certain kinds of attributes to the minority poor, from whose ranks he or she importantly is drawn. "Poverty results from shiftlessness," (rather than the other way around); "minorities are lazy or lack ambition." Thus, it comes as no surprise that many of the researchers have concerned themselves with aspects of the broad question of motivation: whether differences between new and traditional students exist; how motivation relates to academic performance, especially in new students; and how motivation for college may be improved or enhanced through various kinds of curricular and pedagogical strategies. This section tries to consider and summarize the investigations into these questions.

Motivation carries many meanings. Gurin and Katz (1966) discussed motivation and its implications for education by pointing out the different senses in which the term is used. They noted the necessity of dealing with motivations as part of a situational whole, and spoke of the components or elements that unite to produce what they called "resultant motivation"—the actual goal to which the person aspires. They identified the components or elements as follows:

1. Latent motives (generalized dispositions to approach or avoid a class of objects)
    - 1.1 Approach motives (achievement)
    - 1.2 Avoidance motives (fear of failure)
2. Expectancies of success
    - 2.1 Specific to the object
    - 2.2 Generalized (including sense of mastery, internal vs. external control or sense of power)

Motivation, in their usage of the term, subsumes most of the specific topics with which we deal in this section of this report. Our treatment of the topic is dictated by the way in which the concept is defined and handled by the individual researchers. Here, as in other parts of our report, there is no common agreement as to the way in which the term is defined, so that the discussion involves a variety of devices, and samples of students who differ markedly from one another.

The importance attached to motivation as an element in the scholastic performance of the new student is illustrated by Crossland (1971) who, in discussing motivational barriers to access to college, says

> . . . Not all of the ablest, the wealthiest or those living across the street from a campus choose to go to college. And obviously some others with less impressive credentials and bank accounts do choose to go, are admitted and do succeed. The difference presumably is motivation—an ill-defined but crucial mixture of personal ambition, drive, determination and persistence [p. 72].

Martyn (1969) when appraising the motivation and motivational barriers facing disadvantaged students planning to attend college, named the following as influences on the decision: desire for social recognition, peer influence, family expectations, previous scholastic recognition, the student's self-image of his role and the degree to which he sees college as a realistic possibility for himself personally. Here the complex interactive character of the phenomenon is laid out in yet another fashion. Kitano and Miller (1970) accepted Martyn's view of the centrality of motivation and the need to develop educational strategies to enhance this quality. Poussaint and Atkinson (1968) reviewed the research mainly dealing with younger children. They listed the factors involved as—the individual's self-concept, his needs for achievement, self-assertion or aggression and approval, and the kinds of rewards society holds forth. They too, think of motivation as a multidimensional concept with personal and situational origins.

Many others when discussing the educational problems of new students single out motivational factors as important impediments to success. Vontress (1968) said the black student needs help in adjusting to his new environment, and asserted that the lack of a strong need for achievement hampers his progress. Collins (1966) contended that the black and equally disadvantaged white has had resolution and determination sapped by the

belief that the American dream is not for him. Williams (1969) flatly asserted that disadvantaged students lack scholastic motivation. Meeker (undated) said that "Many of the poor don't know what work is all about" (p. 6) and contended that the sort of symbolic reward system used in schools militates against the disadvantaged. Roueche (1968) attached low motivation to junior college students, and the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC 1969) considered it a matter of organizational policy to probe motivation among the disadvantaged. Knoell (1970) mentioned the low motivation of black community college students for certain academic tasks. E. Gordon (1964, 1967) also discussed what he termed the low-level aspiration of disadvantaged students in relation to academics and academic products. He labeled, as a learning handicap,

> Depressed motivation, aspiration and achievement as a result of anticipated failure (due to limited horizons and opportunity) to attain the goals of financial success–goals they share with members of more privileged groups [1964, p. 55].

These writers were joined by Clarke (1966), Friedman (1969b), and the Coordinating Council for Higher Education (1971), all of whom agreed on the importance of proper motivation and its absence in disadvantaged or black students.

Morgan (1970), in a particularly damaging portrait, said that the ghetto student is oriented to beating the system rather than engaging in genuine work. He is not interested in reading to acquire new insights or knowledge, but to reinforce what he has already experienced. He does not differentiate "some" work and "quality" work and believes he should be rewarded just for doing something. He places no value on knowledge areas where he is deficient.

While this is a very harsh judgment that Morgan renders, it describes some aspects of academic life not unique to the disadvantaged student. "Psyching out" the system is commonplace, in or out of college; lack of skill or competence is often rationalized as being unimportant. Holsendolph (1971) made the point that the chief value of the traditional black college was in providing motivation or ambition; and this is not done in white universities. However, others (cf., Resnick and Kaplan, 1971a; Joseph, 1969) cited extremely high motivation manifested by adult black students at predominantly white campuses. Montez, in Franklin (1969), said that lack of motivation in Mexican-Americans is the result of a system

that degrades and forces them into separatism and isolation. In dealing with the problems of students in higher education, Guerra (1969) said that colleges seldom provide Mexican-American students sufficient motivation or satisfactions.

To what extent are these diagnoses of deficient or faulty motivation for academic work borne out by the research evidence? In an essentially descriptive work comparing different groups of individuals, Coleman *et al.* (1966) reported that black 12th grade students had high levels of motivation; they wanted to be one of the best in the class more frequently than did white students. Puerto Ricans showed a greater tendency than any other group to just get by. This observation of a higher drive by blacks to achieve was also noted by Astin (1970) who found that this held true for both disadvantaged and random samples of blacks when compared with whites. Smith and Abramson (1962) compared matched groups of black and white high school students on Rosen's Achievement Syndrome and found that the groups did not differ in achievement motivation, although the achievement value orientation of whites was significantly higher.

Hunt and Hardt (1969) compared the effects of Upward Bound programs on black and white groups and found that blacks tended to score lower on motivation for college than white groups. Harris (1966) examined the achievement syndrome by means of an attitude scale for black and white Protestants and white Catholic junior and senior college students and found that blacks were much less likely to have high achievement syndrome scores than white Catholics (who had the highest proportion of high scores) or white Protestants. Lott and Lott (1963) in their study of black and white Kentucky high school seniors used French's Test of Insight to appraise achievement motives, and after imposing appropriate statistical controls found the total white group scored significantly higher than the total black group on achievement motives. Dispenzieri, *et al.* (1971) found that some of the scales in Herrenkohl's *Feelings About Success and Failure* differentiated between College Discovery Program students and regular matriculants, but the mean differences were small and of little practical significance.

Insofar as direct comparisons of black and white students are concerned, the results are mixed. Some studies show higher levels of achievement need, or motivation, among blacks than whites; others report no differences and still others favor whites over blacks. To some extent, this

probably results from the differences in groups, time, and instruments employed but it by no means presents a clear picture.

SES and ethnic group membership when studied together also have furnished a basis for some investigations of motivation and motivational differences. Littig (1968) employed the French Test of Insight in his investigation of achievement, affiliation, and power motivations of three equal-sized groups of male college students–whites attending middle-class white colleges, blacks attending middle-class black colleges and blacks attending working-class colleges. The groups differed significantly on mean achievement motive scores with the working-class black sample earning the lowest scores and the middle-class white sample the highest. However, the author did not correct (as did Lott and Lott) for the fact that motivation scores depend on, or are influenced by, the length as well as the content of the response task. He concluded that the difference grows out of the nature of the test, and does not reflect real differences in motivation among the college samples. Despite this, he did go on to argue that strong achievement motives dispose blacks at working-class colleges to seek jobs in traditionally closed fields. In a study that paralleled the one described above, but examined occupational aspirations of white and black middle- and working-class college women, Littig (1971) found that the French Test of Insight did not differentiate between groups in achievement motive.

Douvan (1956), in a pioneering experimental study, found that high school seniors from middle-class backgrounds manifested more generalized achievement strivings, that is, the kinds of reward conditions attached to a task did not bear so close a relationship to performance on that task as it did for students from marginal or lower SES backgrounds. The middle class exhibits more internalized desire for accomplishment was the conclusion resulting from this study. Gurin and Epps (1966) and Gurin and Katz (1966) studied the achievement motivations of black college students in southern colleges according to their socioeconomic status. In the first of these studies, the authors concluded that lower- and middle-class groups are strikingly similar in their motivations and in the values they attach to educational goals on all of the measures they employed to appraise achievement behaviors–the Mandler-Sarason Test Anxiety Scale, Willermans revision of the Test of Insight or the Atkinson-O'Connor Achievement Risk Preference Score. In the second study, which dealt with the same subjects as the Gurin and Epps study, the authors reported:

> We find no evidence for class differences in broad motive and value factors when we compare students from vastly different backgrounds. . . .
>
> (The) extreme groups do not differ . . . in the motive to avoid failure or any of the achievement-relevant values that were coded from the students' responses about what they want in their future lives.
>
> . . . Where we *do* find differences is *not* in these broad dispositions but rather in attitudes and expectancies closely tied to specific situations, particularly those contemporary situations which reflect different reality factors in the life experiences of the poor and non-poor.
>
> . . . we find differences between the students from different class backgrounds primarily in their assessments of chances for success and the extent to which they base those assessments on internal versus external factors [pp. 299-301].

The importance of this expectancy factor in the motivational dynamics of the individual had been singled out earlier by Lott and Lott. However, we are inclined to doubt the potency of SES analyses within black samples; being black connotes much more than merely being poor.

Research-based descriptions of the motivational characteristics of other ethnic groups have been offered by Logan (1967), Reboussin and Goldstein (1966), Danesino and Layman (1966), V.C. Johnson (1963) and Hall (1968). Logan compared the basic motivational patterns of three different groups of college males–Anglo-American, Mexican-American and Mexican. Using three different measures, the Thematic Apperception Test, the Rosen Scale of Values and a short autobiography he found that the need for achievement tended to vary according to the measure being used. On the TAT, Anglo Protestants and Mexicans had higher average scores than Anglo Catholics or Mexican-Americans. On the autobiography the Mexican-Americans scored significantly higher than all other groups, while on the Rosen scale Anglo Protestants scored highest, followed by Anglo Catholics, Mexican-Americans and Mexicans. Reboussin and Goldstein compared introductory psychology students at the University Kansas with a highly selected population of Navaho students enrolled at the Haskell Institute and found that, on the French Test of Insight, the Navahos had higher need for achievement than whites. Johnson (1963) studied Michigan M-scale scores made by eleventh grade white and Indian students and found that white girls and boys made higher average scores in

the total and on the bulk of the subsidiary scales. Hall (1968) found that achievement motivation of Mexican-Americans as measured by McClelland's TAT were higher than those of other students, whether middle or lower SES. Mexican-American women's scores exceeded those of all other groups.

Danesino and Layman compared matched groups of high and low college achievers of Italian and Irish descent. The students are not "new" and academic aptitude, as measured by the School and College Ability Test, was high. However, the performance of McClelland's Achievement Motivation test showed that the two Italian groups differed from one another significantly with high achievers showing high and low achievers low achievement motivation. They also differed from their Irish comparison groups while the Irish high and low achieving groups were quite similar in achievement motivation. Differences in degree of assimilation were postulated to account for these patterns.

All of the foregoing studies, taken together, do not seem to spell out clear-cut and stark differences between traditional and new students, or white and ethnic minority groups in terms of motivation or need for achievement. The evidence tends to conflict, and there is some measure of agreement only in the observation that it is not so much motivation but expectancy about the motivation that may separate socioeconomic classes or ethnic groups from one another along this dimension.

Is level of motivation or need for achievement related to academic performance?

Clark and Plotkin (1963) noted that the dropout rate for National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) recipients was phenomenally low and, apropos of this, said:

> A motivational hypothesis is advanced to explain the very low drop-out rate of Negroes at integrated colleges. These students must complete college; to drop-out means that they will fall back into the ranks of the nonspecialized labor force where their race insures the permanence of low status [p. 8].

These students do not fit under the "new student" rubric either in terms of talent or educational institution attended, since the majority of the students were enrolled at highly selective colleges and universities.

Miller and O'Connor (1969) found that for Michigan Opportunity Award winners, predominantly black students with low SAT scores, the

Achiever Personality scale of the Opinion, Attitude and Interest Survey bore a significant relationship to academic success (success was defined as earning a C or higher average) for both men and women recipients in the 1964 and 1965 entering groups. The findings did not replicate in 1966, a fact that the authors attribute to a change in counseling practices that reduced the rigor of the students' programs. Dispenzieri *et al.* (1971) attempts to relate the factors on the Herrenkohl questionnaire to the actual achievement of the special program students proved to be disappointing; they did not consistently predict to the criteria.

Green and Farquhar (1965) reported that the Michigan M scales, which appraise academic motivation, with the exception of the Human Traits Inventory, correlated significantly with the academic achievement of black eleventh graders. However, the scales also bore substantial relationship to the performance of white students as well, and the correlations of M scale scores and GPA for white men were consistently higher than those for black males. The reverse of this held true for women. In another study of high school students, Capone (1970) found that for twelfth grade Puerto Rican ASPIRA students, need for achievement, as measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Scale and SAT score, provided the only significant positive relationship.

Hall (1968) studied community college students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Comparing them on McClelland's Thematic Apperception Test of Achievement Motivation, he found that it differentiated significantly between achievers (those with a 2.0 or higher average) and nonachievers.

Cross (1971) sent a questionnaire to administrators of remedial services in two-year colleges, asking them to indicate the major obstacle to learning for low achieving students. The obstacle ranked first was "Lack of effort: Has quit trying" which we take to refer to the motivational state of the students. The evidence presented here suggests that there may be some relationship between motivation and academic performance, but the data are far from conclusive, and considerable additional study is needed before the relationship between academic performance and motivation (however it may be assessed) is established.

A number of writers have given attention to strategies aimed at improving the college students' motivation. In some instances, these attempts try to focus college experience more sharply on the kinds of

outcomes new students cite as important to them such as occupational goals, and are believed by some to be an effective means for enhancing motivation (Harris, 1969; Berg, 1965). Providing more concrete and immediate rewards also has been suggested as a way to effect greater involvement from the student (Dansereau, 1969; Greising, 1969). Human potential groups (Encounter, Sensitivity, T-Groups) also have been advocated as a means of enhancing motivation (Bowman, undated; Greising, 1969), but Atkinson, Etzioni and Tinker (1969) indicated that such programs have variable effectiveness according to the level of talent of the students participating in them. Fuller attention is given to these procedures in the section of our report which deals with strategies for achieving curricular relevance.

While the notion that motivational differences account significantly for differences in the performance of students from various ethnic and socioeconomic groups remains attractive, there seems to be conflicting evidence that these differences do, in fact, exist. The nature of the relationship of motivation to performance also remains unclear; that motivation and performance of new students covary remains a plausible and attractive but not fully substantiated hypothesis.

ASPIRATION

One of the facets of motivation that has received a great deal of scholarly attention is aspiration. The aspirations of new students have been defined and studied along several dimensions. Course grade aspirations, educational aspirations, and vocational aspirations have been explored separately and simultaneously. Each can be discussed in terms of high or low aspirations and whether they are realistic or unrealistic. The vagueness or specificity of educational and vocational aspirations is also an issue. And the problem of new students' occupational aspirations in fields traditionally open or closed to minorities is also of concern, and has received special attention in studies of black students. Underlying all of these dimensions is the problem, not always made explicit, of the relationship between aspirations and expectations: students may want to reach certain goals, but do they, in fact, believe that they will attain them? Most studies of college-age students ask for "plans," or "intentions," in an attempt apparently to elicit expectations, but it is not at all clear that they have succeeded in doing so.

A variety of opinions have been expressed on the nature of the aspirations of new students and their needs. E. Gordon (1964; 1967) claimed that disadvantaged students exhibit low levels of aspiration in all areas as a result of anticipated failures. Clift (1970) noted that blacks may have low levels of aspiration as a result of emotional problems rather than inadequate values, and Montez, in Franklin (1969), also observed that Mexican-Americans have low aspirations not because of cultural values, but because they have given up the attempt to enter a rejecting and oppressive system. Dansereau (1969) suggested that community college students need special encouragement to aspire to higher levels of academic expectations.

Other writers disagree that the aspirations of new students are low. Ware and Gold (1971) noted that the disadvantaged have vague and unrealistic vocational goals (the implication is unrealistically high), and Poussaint and Atkinson (1968), whe reviewing the research, found that blacks have high aspirations that are not translated into behavior. Bressler (1967) agreed that blacks have higher aspirations than whites, but dismisses these aspirations as "fantasies." Ausubel and Ausubel (1958), in a seminal work on black children, suggested that high levels of aspiration do not necessarily reflect "real or functional levels of striving," but are attempts to bolster self-esteem by presenting an image of "aiming high." Weiner and Murray (1963), in still another explanation, claimed that the economically deprived have high aspirations but low expectations of achieving them, so they don't try as hard to attain them. (There would seem to be a subtle difference in these explanations of the high aspirations of the disadvantaged; the Weiner and Murray explanation suggests a somewhat more conscious awareness of the nonrealistic aspects of the aspirations.) Cross (1971) noted that many community college educators see highly unrealistic aspirations in their low-ability students and suggested that this is due to a "fear-of-failure reaction." "Not to succeed at being a doctor or a lawyer is not very threatening, because neither the student nor his associates have any real expectation that such a goal will be realized (p. 23)." Clarke (1971) and Collins (1966) both offered suggestions for dealing with this situation. Clarke thought that new students need to become acquainted with and to re-evaluate a broader range of occupational choices, since they seem only to be interested in high prestige careers, and Collins stressed the need for realistic guidance programs, since

the pursuit of unrealistic goals is a prime cause of discouragement and dropouts. Much, but not all, of the research on new students' aspirations confirms these opinions of high, and possibly unrealistic, aspirations.

Some few studies deal with ethnically undifferentiated students. Berg (1965) questioned low-ability junior college students in California and felt that their educational and vocational plans were unrealistic, since their plans did not differ from those of average-ability students. Berg concluded that "low-ability students seem to make educational and vocational choices in accordance with the standards of the student peer groups they're in, rather than in accordance with any realistic assessment of their own needs or potential" (pp. 124-125). Young (1966) also noted "a lack of realism" in the aspirations of the low-ability junior college students he tested. They expressed "rather high goals" (over 50% wanted professional careers) and a great certainty of achieving them; given their very low achievement and aptitude test scores, this outlook appeared unrealistic to Young. Dispenzieri *et al.* (1968) found a "high level of aspiration toward academic degrees" among both dropouts from and survivors in the City University of New York's College Discovery Program. Ninety-four % of the survivors, and 85% of the dropouts expected to get bachelor's degrees, for example, with large percentages of the survivors also intending to work for advanced degrees. Dispenzieri noted the "very strong commitment to higher education," but suggested that "the academic aspirations of both groups may be unduly optimistic in terms of the realistic obstacles these students would face while trying to earn these degrees (p. 19)."

Another study by Dispenzieri *et al.* (1969) compared the grade expectations of regular students and disadvantaged students in the SEEK program; although the SEEK students had slightly higher expectations, they received poorer grades, indicating, according to Melnick (1971), "that their expectations are unrealistic, referrable to an intense drive of the disadvantaged to surmount a life of deprivation" (p. 28). (It should be noted that the students in the College Discovery and SEEK programs were economically and educationally disadvantaged but not necessarily of low aptitude.) Finally, Berger (1967) cited the finding by Project TALENT that among those high school seniors who entered college a year after leaving high school, 37% of those in the bottom quarter on a test of college aptitude planned to obtain advanced degrees.

Cross (1971), on the other hand, found data indicating that new students do not, on the whole, have unrealistic educational and occu-

pational aspirations. Low-ability students (lowest third among students tested) were asked for their educational plans. Only 10% of the SCOPE sample (12th graders) planned four years of college, 15% of the Project TALENT sample (12th graders) and 20% of the GROWTH sample (12th graders). Thirty-one % of the Comparative Guidance and Placement Sample intended to complete four or more years of college, but these were students already in their first year of college. Data on career choices from SCOPE indicated that the low-ability students were "hard-headed realists" who "tended to make occupational choices that required little in the way of advanced education" (p. 92). For example, 78% of the low-ability girls stated that they would like being typists or secretaries either vey much or fairly well; 69 percent of the low-ability boys responded favorably to the idea of becoming auto mechanics. Cross found that new students aspire to jobs of working with people or things, as opposed to working with ideas or abstractions. She noted that "perhaps they are too much influenced by reality; they are much more likely than traditional students to succumb to sex stereotyping in job preferences." Cross also presented data challenging some writers' statements that new students have "vauge" career plans. On the contrary, both the SCOPE and CGP studies show that low-ability students are more likely to have made career choices by the time they enter college; and that women are more likely than men to feel confident in their occupational choice. (She suggested that this is because there are fewer options perceived as open by women and low-ability students.) Finally, she briefly explored the aspirations of women students, undifferentiated by ability or race. The data indicate that the major male-female discrepancy in educational aspirations occurs not in the wish to obtain higher education but in the amount of higher education desired, with more men than women intending to do post-graduate work. Cross suggested that the difference in aspirations is due to the problem of diminished self-concept: women are encouraged to set their aspirations "realistically" for jobs that are "open" to them (like members of ethnic minorities).

Studies on black students' aspirations, which comprise most of the research in this area, almost all obtain findings of higher educational and/or vocational aspirations. American University (1969) found that more of its "inner city" students expected to graduate with honors and planned to get doctoral degrees than did its traditional students. Littig (1968)

discovered that 95% of working-class and middle-class black male students aspired to graduate school compared to 64% of the white students. Bayer and Boruch (1969a; 1969b), compared 12,300 black college students with 230,583 nonblack students; Davis, Loeb and Robinson (1970), compared 152 black freshmen at the University of Illinois with about 10,000 nonblack freshmen; and Froe (1968), compared 600 black Morgan State freshmen with over 12,000 predominantly white freshmen at other schools. They all found that the black students had higher educational aspirations, with more intending to work for postbaccalaureate degrees. Froe also found that the black students expressed greater certainty about achieving their educational goals. Astin (1970), with a sample of 37,000 students, 16% of whom were black, obtained similar results and, in addition, discovered that economically disadvantaged blacks had the highest aspirations (higher than middle-class blacks, middle-class whites, and disadvantaged whites).

A number of the studies, either explicitly or by implication, have considered the problem of the realism of aspirations, as well as their level, and have, for one reason or another, called black students' aspirations "unrealistic." Smith and Abramson (1962) tested 33 black and 33 white high school students from lower socioeconomic groups and found that the blacks had significantly higher educational and vocational aspirations. Several considerations, including differences in achievement-value orientations favoring the whites (although there were no differences in achievement motivation), led them to conclude that the blacks' aspirations were on the level of fantasy rather than reality. Harris (1966) compared 660 black, white Protestant, and white Catholic college juniors and seniors (about equal numbers racially). He found a much higher proportion of black students planned to obtain advanced degrees, although the groups were similar in reporting high occupational and income expectations. Black males and females of the same SES did not differ in their educational plans. Black students, however, reflected to a greater extent the absence of the achievement syndrome orientation. The association of a low achievement syndrome with high educational aspirations was a particularly pervasive pattern among the black students, although it was also found for a large proportion of the whites. (Harris apparently drew his questionnaire on the achievement syndrome from Rosen's work.) Similar results were obtained by Hunt and Hardt (1969), who found that black Upward Bound students rated the importance of college graduation

and the possibility of it for themselves higher than white Upward Bound students; yet the blacks were lower on motivation for college.

Coleman *et al.* (1966) found that black and white 12th graders were rather similar in their educational aspirations, but the black students had less definite plans and had less often initiated action to realize their hopes (a lower proportion had seen a college catalog, or written or talked to a college official). Both groups had high occupational expectations, with those of the black students somewhat lower than those of the whites. Coleman calls the expectations of both groups unrealistic, since professionals constitute only 13% of the labor force in the United States, and the students' professional expectations ranged from 22% (western urban blacks) to 46% (northeastern urban whites). Antonovsky (1967), in a study of black, white, and Puerto Rican 10th graders from the middle and lower classes found that both the occupational aspirations and expectations of white middle-class students were significantly higher than those of all of the other groups. There were almost no significant differences between the two black groups and the white lower-class group. Antonovsky considers the expectations and aspirations of the black lower-class group "unrealistic because, handicapped as they are by both race and socioeconomic status, their aspirations and expectations should be lower than the middle-class Negroes or the lower-class whites." He saw in them "a desire not for gradual amelioration but for a radical far-reaching step forward." "The idea is not to improve over the status of the older generation familiar to one, but to be as unlike it as possible (p. 391)." It should be noted that only 27% of the lower-class blacks actually gave "high" responses when asked for realistic expectations. Finally, one more study questionned the realism of black students' aspirations: the Southern Regional Education Board (1970) interviewed southern black students and stated that their aspiration patterns are often vague and unrealistic (no data are given).

A few studies did not agree that black students aim too high in their expectations and aspirations. Hedegard and Brown (1969) found that the grade expectations of both black and white freshmen at the University of Michigan were fairly realistic, with median expectations not far above attainments. The discrepancy between expectations and attainments was only slightly greater for the black students. Knoell (1970), on the basis of interviews with black high school graduates who weren't entering college,

stated that their occupational aspirations and expectations were realistic if they could obtain community college educations. (She noted that her questions were deliberately structured to avoid eliciting highly unrealistic aspirations.)

Lott and Lott (1963) studied black and white high school seniors in Kentucky and also concluded that black students had high, but realistic, levels of occupational aspirations and expectations. For example, 41% of the black boys and 46% of the white boys aspired to business or professional careers; only 30% of the black students, in contrast to 41% of the whites, actually expected to achieve such positions. Only 12% of the black boys, compared to 27% of the white boys, desired "glamour" jobs and, on the other hand, 39% of the black boys, compared to 18% of the whites, were interested in jobs in the clerical, sales and skilled trade categories. Black girls expressed greater desire to enter all occupational categories than white girls did, except for "glamour" jobs and "housewife." Among the students who planned to attend college, there were no reliable differences for either males or females in the distribution of occupational choices for blacks and whites. The investigators also evaluated the relationship between the students' desired vocational goals and their immediate plans; about three-quarters of both black and white groups showed a positive relationship between their immediate plans and future aspirations.

Lott and Lott also found that, in contrast to both the black boys and white girls, the aspirations and expectations of black girls were closely related. They suggested that this might indicate either a greater lack of realism, or a greater degree of determination to attain their objectives. A similar finding was made by Littig (1971); the black college women in his sample were more decisive than the white women about their occupational goals and, apparently, were also more certain of achieving those goals, since they tended to give the same occupation as both their ideal goal and their real goal. Weston and Mednick (1970) also examined differences between black and white women. They compared the "motive to avoid success," asking middle- and lower-class black women and middle-class white women undergraduates to write stories based on verbal TAT cues. The stories were analyzed for the presence or absence of imagery suggesting negative consequences as a result of success. The authors found that white women expressed a high degree of the motive-to-avoid-success;

their stories suggested successful women incur strong negative consequences. The black subjects, regardless of class, indicated no such fear of success.

Four studies have explored social class differences in aspirations among black students. Harris (1966) found that low-status blacks had higher educational aspirations than high-status blacks, as did Astin (1970). Gurin (1966), however, reported contradictory findings for occupational aspirations. In a substudy drawn from a larger work, based on 4000 students at predominantly black colleges in the South, she found that social class differences in career aspirations existed only among freshmen, not among seniors. Class differences did persist, however, in institutions where a large proportion of the student body came from lower status backgrounds. Gurin found, among the freshmen, high-status males were more likely to aspire to high prestige and high ability level occupations that were traditionally open to blacks (such as teaching) rather than nontraditional (such as architecture). Women with high status (on the basis of father's education) also aspired to high prestige occupations. All other class indicators, however (mother's occupation, family income, and intactness of home), were associated with conventional female choices (i.e., occupations considered desirable to female peers but not highly prestigeful or demanding of high ability). Littig (1968) found similar results: his working-class black male students tended to aspire to occupations that were traditionally closed to blacks, whereas the middle-class black students tended to aspire to those traditionally open.

In the larger study from which Gurin's article on class differences is drawn, Gurin and Katz (1966) explored in great detail the aspirations of black students. Focusing on realistic goals, they found that 10% of the students were completely certain of going to graduate school and another 48% were "pretty certain." The majority of students were still choosing occupations traditionally open to blacks. Women had lower aspirations than men, choosing jobs that were less prestigeful, less demanding of ability, and more traditional to blacks. Except for intending to work as long as black males, the career orientation of black women was similar to that of women generally: they considered fewer occupations open to them, made earlier decisions, were more sure of their choices, had less concern with advancement, and attached less importance to their careers.

Gurin and Katz also tried to evaluate the realism of occupational choices by the male students, based on the discrepancy between the

ability level required by the occupation and the student's own ability level. One important finding was that low-ability males, from lower SES homes showed the most severely depressed aspirations, with the ability demands of their chosen occupations even lower than their performances suggested they could handle. This was not true for high-ability students from lower status homes. The authors suggested that "the lack of high aspirant models in the backgrounds of high ability students is probably not so important since they are likely to have been encouraged by teachers and other non-family models to develop aspirations that fit their high abilities. But this kind of compensatory support is undoubtedly given less frequently to low ability students. Lacking other supports, their aspirations appear to suffer when they come from low status homes, since their parents either cannot provide models for them or cannot influence them toward higher aspirant roles that might be closer to the potential they do have" (pp. 285-286).

Several studies have explored the aspirations of other ethnic minorities, or of nonwhite students as a group. Cross (1971) presented U.S. Bureau of Census data showing that in the class of 1965, "67% of nonwhites were considering college–either 'maybe' or 'definitely'–compared with 60% of the whites." Nearly one-third of minority youth with "very low" scores on verbal-ability tests, compared to 15% of Caucasian low-scorers, hoped to graduate from a four-year college, Cross reported. She suggested both that these are "unrealistically" high aspirations and that the minority students don't really expect to realize their goal.

Studies of specific minority groups other than black and Oriental-American, generally have found lower aspirations. Heller (1966) studied Mexican-American male high school seniors and found that their educational and vocational expectations were substantially lower than those of Anglo seniors. Forty-four percent of the Mexican-Americans did expect to attend college, however. When class factor was controlled, the educational expectations of the two groups did not differ significantly, and the occupational expectations differed only in that more of the Mexican-Americans expected to be skilled workers, and fewer anticipated professional careers. C.W. Gordon (1968) also found that Mexican-American pupils (junior and senior high students combined) had lower aspirations than did Anglo students. Nevertheless, Mexican-American aspirations were "substantially higher than public stereotypes would suggest" since over two-thirds aspired to post-high school training, with almost a third aiming

as high or higher than four years of college. The expectations of both groups were somewhat lower than their aspirations; only 19% of the Mexican-Americans actually expected to go to a four-year college or to graduate school.

Coleman *et al.* (1966) also found that about one-third of Mexican-American students (12th graders) wanted to finish college, or go on to graduate school; this figure was lower than those for Oriental-Americans, whites, and blacks.

The Puerto Rican and Indian students were similar to the Mexican-Americans in the percentage desiring to finish four years of college or more. All three groups were also similar to each other, and lower than whites, blacks, and Oriental-Americans, in their occupational expectations. For example, only 18% of the Mexican-Americans and 21% of the Indians and Puerto Ricans thought they would have professional jobs after they finished school. (By Coleman's standard of realism, the 13% of the labor force in professional jobs, these figures are fairly realistic.) Finally, one other study dealt with Puerto Rican aspirations: Antonovsky (1967) found that lower-class Puerto Ricans in the 10th grade had occupational aspirations and expectations significantly below those of middle-class Puerto Ricans and middle- and lower-class blacks and whites. The middle-class Puerto Ricans did not differ significantly from the two black groups, or from the lower-class whites, except that the number holding high "realistic expectations" was as great as for middle-class whites and significantly above the number in the other groups.

The studies on the aspirations of new students based on SES, with mixed ethnic groups or with white students alone, have had mixed results. Antonovsky (1967) found that among 10th graders, lower SES whites had lower aspirations and expectations than the middle-class white group. Harris (1966) also discovered that among whites, lower status students, particularly women, had lower educational aspirations. Astin (1970) found that a slightly greater percentage of disadvantaged white freshmen, compared to middle-class white freshmen, had low educational aspirations. However, Hall (1968) found that the School Related Experiences and Aspirations scale of the Inventory of Self-Appraisal (ISA) did not distinguish between an ethnically mixed group of lower SES students and white middle-class students. And Bradfield (1967) also found no differences in the aspiration levels of lower- and middle-income male students at a junior college and state university on the Occupational Aspiration Scale.

Several studies have attempted to establish a relationship between the aspirations of new students and their academic performance, again with inconsistent results. Berg (1965) found that the definiteness of educational and vocational plans significantly and positively related to the persistence and the performance of low-ability students. Hall (1968) found that the aspirations scale of the ISA distinguished between achievers and nonachievers in a group of lower and middle income students. Dispenzieri *et al.* (1971) found that the reality of grade expectations of disadvantaged students in the College Discovery Program was a small but significant predictor of performance. Dispenzieri is also reported to have found that a positive relationship between grade expectations and achievement operated within the College Discovery group and within a group of regular students, but did not hold across the groups combined (cf., Melnick, 1971, p. 27). Apparently, ability levels were too different. In another study, Dispenzieri *et al.* (1968) found no significant differences in the educational aspirations of the dropouts and survivors in the SEEK program for disadvantaged students.

Di Cesare (1970), on the other hand, found that black students who persisted at the University of Maryland had higher expectations than the dropouts. And Green and Farquhar (1965), found that the occupational aspirations subtest of the Michigan M-Scale did correlate significantly with grades for both black and white, male and female, 11th graders, and also noted that this subtest was not the best predictor of performance among the measures administered.

Finally, in a study concerned with different relationships, Hoffman (1969) tested American-Indian high school boys and found that educational aspirations were significantly and positively related to self-concept and academic self-assessment. The Hoffman study, because of the variables involved, suggests one of the problems involved in trying to find a relationship between aspirations and performance. No correlational study, of course, says anything about cause-and-effect. Yet even more than other characteristics (such as locus of control), *level* of aspiration would for the most part seem to be influenced by, rather than a determinant of, academic performance. The student with a successful school history is far more likely to expect and aspire to higher grades, more education, and occupations higher in prestige and ability.

On the other hand, the definiteness of aspirations does seem logically to have a potentially motivating effect; the student who knows what he or

she wants may be inspired to work harder to get it. E. Berger (1967) pointed out, however, that this can also be a danger. He stated that most high school seniors and college freshmen "have not yet learned enough about themselves or about occupations . . . (or) about the nature of their limitations in college-level work. As a result, many students commit themselves to vocational choices prematurely and then perceive the experience as a 'failure.' Students should be encouraged to consider any early decision as *tentative* . . . and helped to see their task as one of confirming or discovering what they want to do by way of a process of exploration, experimentations, and personal development that may go on through their lifetime" (p. 888). More research is needed on the question of whether new students have vague aspirations, and on the affect of uncertainty about occupational goals on academic performance and retention.

The research on new students has not yet arrived at definitive answers, either about their levels of aspiration, or the reality of those aspirations. One of the problems in the research is that a clear distinction is not always made between aspirations and expectations, between ideal goals and actual goals. Most of the studies at the late high school or college level do try to discover realistic desires by asking for "plans" or "intentions," but even this seems inadequate. Researchers would do well to ask specifically for both aspirations and expectations, stressing in their phrasing the differences between the two. A second, and even more serious, research flaw concerns the measures of reality that are used. The problem of realism of aspirations is, as we have discussed, perhaps the crucial problem for new students. Yet few researchers have incorporated measures that would evaluate the realism of choice for the individual respondent. Coleman, *et al.* (1966), for example, called the aspirations of black and white high school students for professional careers unrealistic, because there are not that many practicing professionals in the United States. Lott and Lott (1963), on the other hand, called their black students' aspirations "realistic," although their percentage that aspired to professional status is as high, or higher in some cases, as in the Coleman study. Any use of the term "unrealistic," which is not based on some notion of the ability level of the students concerned, can only be derived from an acceptance of the *status quo* approach to the social structure of the country; in the case of ethnic minority students and women such an approach is particularly dangerous. If more research is done, as it should

be, on the realism of new students' aspirations, it should involve the use of careful measures of both the student's ability level, and the requirements of his or her chosen field.

Finally, whether further research of a correlational nature will establish some definitive relationship between aspirations and performance or not, whatever the relationship to performance is, the educational and occupational aspirations of students should be matters of concern to the colleges. Most studies have found that the primary reason for students' attending college, particularly new students, is to obtain vocational preparation. The colleges, then, at least have the responsibility of helping students to decide on careers that are within their capabilities, and of informing students to achieve their occupational goals. Level of aspiration, *per se*, should not be the central issue in educational and vocational guidance, of course, but rather the reality of aspirations and the gratifications attendant upon mastering disciplines in school that will allow entrance into freely chosen occupations. Students must be made familiar with the greatest possible number of options, and college personnel must become wary of focusing only on "traditional" jobs (particularly in the case of ethnic minority students and women) and of denigrating jobs that may be of low prestige, yet potentially great personal satisfaction. The stress on high-prestige careers may well be responsible for many unhappy and frustrated graduate students and professionals, of whatever ability level.

DELAYED (DEFERRED) GRATIFICATION

Descriptions of disadvantaged students often discuss their unwillingness to delay gratification, and their preference for more immediate, albeit smaller, rewards (Schneider and Lysgaard, 1953; Moore, 1970; Gordon, J. in Amos and Grambs, 1968; Bressler, 1967; E. Gordon, 1967). This characteristic also often is inferred from a present, rather than future time orientation (e.g., Bard, *et al.*, 1967; Rossone, 1965). The middle-class student, in particular, the white middle-class student, is alleged to be more future oriented and more willing to delay present satisfaction for future rewards, a characteristic thought to be associated with academic success. But, as J. Gordon points out, this problem "has been the focus of a fair amount of speculation and little systematic study" (1968). A survey of the literature on the willingness to delay gratification quickly reveals three critical problems that make any conclusions on the subject risky: 1) most

of the research conducted has been with young children, with few studies on high school and college students; 2) studies on older populations used tests that appear to be of doubtful validity; and 3) observations of different behavior patterns relating to gratification between new and traditional students lend themselves to a variety of hypothetical interpretations, e.g., perhaps traditional students actually receive immediate gratification from the college environment itself that the new students do not. These qualifications should be kept in mind as we review the studies in this area.

Of the available research on older students, only one study, contrary to expectations, offered much evidence that new students are unwilling to delay satisfaction. According to Cross (1971) SCOPE data showed that 38% of low-ability high school seniors, compared to only 16% of the high-ability students, scored in the lower third in a test of willingness to plan for future satisfaction and to work for a nonimmediate reward. Nearly half of the low-ability males scored in the lowest third compared to less than a third of the low-ability women. While the statistical difference is extremely strong, the data present at least two problems. First of all, the scale was factorially complex, or multidimensional. Responses were asked for such disparate questions as "I'd rather have $10 right now than $30 a month from now," "Even when teenagers get married, their main loyalty still belongs to their fathers and mothers," "I continue doing my homework or household chores, even though I would like to go out with my friends," and so forth. Secondly, though perhaps less important, there is no way of knowing which of the low-ability students planned to attend college, i.e., whether any correlation existed between low-ability students with high scores on willingness to delay satisfaction and college attendance, and vice-versa.

We have been able to make a detailed analysis of the pattern of responses of both the general (N=34,000) and the college-going samples (N=10,000) to individual items on the SCOPE questionnaire that relate to the concept of deferment of gratification.[1,2,3] These analyses have taken

[1]We acknowledge our thanks to the SCOPE Project and especially to its director, Dr. Dale Tillery and to Mr. Fred Dagenais for their help in making these analyses possible.

[2]The questions studied were:

32. It's silly for a teenager to put money into a car when the money could be used to get started in business or for an education.
33. I'd rather spend my summer earnings on dates and clothes than to put them in the bank for the future.

into account the sex and ability level of individuals in the general sample, and sex, ability level, ethnic group membership, and SES (as inferred from family income and level of education of parents) of the college group. Since, with numbers of this magnitude, trivial differences in percent of agreement with the propositions expressed in the items would be statistically reliable ones, we have singled out for comment only those discrepancies that are substantial—10% in the general sample subgroup comparisons and 15% or more in the college sample.

The following items differentiate, in terms of percent of "true" responses, at approximately that level in relation to the various independent variables for the general sample.

Independent Variable	*Items Differentiating*	*Direction of Difference*
Sex	33	Low-ability men higher than low-ability women
	35	Women higher than men (all ability groups)
	42	Men higher than women (all ability groups)
Ability	34	Low-ability > middle-ability > high-ability (both sexes)
	38	Low-ability > middle ability, high ability (both sexes)
	42	Low-ability middle-ability > high-ability (both sexes)
	44	High-ability, middle-ability > low-ability (both sexes)

34. Nowadays, with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.
35. I continue doing my homework or household chores, even though I would like to go out with my friends.
38. I'd rather have $10 right now than $30 a month from now.
40. If I sacrifice now, I will be better off in the long-run.
42. I usually go out with my friends even though I have homework to do.
44. I'd rather have an expensive gift *later* than a less valuable gift *right now*.

[3]Percent of responses to each item for the several groupings are given in Tables 2-4.

In the college-going sample the following items also differentiate at a 15 percent or higher discrepancy.

Independent Variable	*Items Differentiating*	*Direction of Difference*
Sex	None	
Ability	34	Low-ability > high ability (both sexes)
	38	Low-ability > high ability (women)
Race (for sexes combined)	32	Black men > Orientals, Spanish-American men
		Black women > Caucasian, Oriental women
	33	Indian men > Oriental men
		Indian women > Caucasian women
	35	Oriental men > American Indian, Spanish-American men
	38	Black men > Oriental, Caucasian men
		Black women > American Indian, Caucasian, Oriental women
		Mexican-Americans > whites
	42	Lower > upper-class males
	44	Upper > lower-class females

These data reveal a strong general tendency to agree with such abstract propositions as the importance of present sacrifice for future gratification, and the foolishness of hedonism. Most of the students seem to be ruled by a sense of duty—at least they say so. They put work before pleasure—and they believe that it is better to wait a while for something better to come along. There are differences between groups according to sex, ethnic group, ability level and SES but, in spite of these differences, there is an overriding commitment to the ethical position that preaches patience, prudence, the deferment of immediate rewards, and placing duty before pleasure. Items 38 and 44 which complement each other ask directly about deferment of gratification, although not in terms likely to be encountered in real-life situations: "I'd rather have $10 right now than

$30 a month from now," and "I'd rather have an expensive gift *later* than a less valuable one *right now*." These two items discriminate variously across levels of ability, ethnic groups and SES with the less able, or minority, lower SES student inclined to show less capacity to defer gratification.

Item 34, expressing a preference for living for today, sharply differentiates college versus general samples and ability, with the general sample and lower-ability groups agreeing more often.

Two other seemingly complementary items, 35 and 42, which deal with the competition between pleasure and duty, differentiate between sexes in the general sample. Women tend more to carry on with homework or chores, but this disposition seems more pronounced in lower ability and lower SES youth and in most minority groups regardless of sex.

Items 32 and 40 assess (either specifically or generally) the presumed value of sacrifice but do not make any consistent differentiations; general sacrifice is accepted, specific sacrifice is not. Question 33 appraising the conflict between saving and spending seems to capture some sense of the difference in sex role and relationships and the lesser concern with saving at the higher SES level.

TABLE 2 Percent of High, Middle, and Low Ability Students in the SCOPE 12th Grade General Sample Answering "True" to Selected Items—by Sex of Respondent

	Men (N=16,769)			*Women (N=17,196)*		
Item number	*High (N=6157)*	*Middle (N=5418)*	*Low (N=4874)*	*High (N=4439)*	*Middle (N=6100)*	*Low (N=6356)*
32	46	40	45	45	39	47
33	32	36	34	27	29	24
34	16	26	40	13	21	40
35	48	44	50	56	55	64
38	10	15	27	8	14	26
40	77	79	71	76	79	76
42	44	56	59	32	42	44
44	79	73	62	74	67	58

TABLE 3-A Percent of High, Middle, and Low Ability Students in the SCOPE College Freshman Sample Answering "True" to Selected Items—by Sex of Respondent

	Men (N=4914)			*Women (N=5673)*		
Item number	*High (N=3118)*	*Middle (N=1343)*	*Low (N=397)*	*High (N=2802)*	*Middle (N=2032)*	*Low (N=789)*
32	52	49	52	49	45	51
33	28	28	27	25	28	25
34	14	21	32	12	19	33
35	52	52	53	58	57	65
38	9	12	20	8	12	23
40	78	82	78	75	78	77
42	38	45	48	28	36	37
44	81	76	69	75	70	64

TABLE 3-B Percent of Students from Selected Ethnic Groups in the SCOPE College Freshman Sample Answering "True" to Selected Items—Men Only (N = 4914)

Item number	*American Indian (N=129)*	*White (N=4100)*	*Black (N=174)*	*Oriental (N=72)*	*Spanish-American (N=57)*	*Other (N=382)*
32	50	51	62	47	40	50
33	34	28	20	17	30	28
34	23	17	22	24	25	20
35	46	52	56	64	49	52
38	18	9	26	11	21	13
40	81	79	78	76	74	79
42	53	40	44	38	47	45
44	79	80	68	78	74	77

TABLE 3-C Percent of Students from Selected Ethnic Groups in the SCOPE College Freshman Sample Answering "True" to Selected Items—Women Only (N = 5673)

Item number	*American Indian (N=172)*	*White (N=4660)*	*Black (N=249)*	*Oriental (N=58)*	*Spanish-American (N=74)*	*Other (N=460)*
32	59	47	63	60	47	49
33	28	13	27	16	16	20
34	21	16	29	22	32	22
35	66	57	70	69	73	60
38	14	9	33	17	24	15
40	81	76	82	74	85	76
42	33	32	25	28	28	37
44	66	73	57	72	70	66

TABLE 4 Percent of Students from High, Middle, and Low Socioeconomic Levels in the SCOPE College Freshman Sample Answering "True" to Selected Items—by Sex of Respondent

	Men (N=1593)			*Women (N=1801)*		
Item number	*Upper (N=1098)*	*Middle (N=409)*	*Lower (N=86)*	*Upper (N=1277)*	*Middle (N=444)*	*Lower (N=80)*
32	52	47	58	49	47	55
33	32	30	20	30	24	18
34	14	20	22	15	17	22
35	53	51	51	54	61	67
38	9	13	9	8	14	20
40	77	81	80	72	82	84
42	35	48	50	29	35	29
44	83	80	67	76	72	58

Socioeconomic levels were defined as follows:

Upper—Family income above $6200; both parents at least some post-high school education
Middle—Family income above $6200; both parents at least some high school education
Lower—Family income below $6200; both parents no education above grade school.

No other studies concerning these characteristics used ability as an independent variable. The studies appraising these values according to ethnic group membership or SES, using a variety of tests, have not shown that minority group students or poor or working-class students are unwilling to delay gratification.

Two studies dealing with Mexican-American students have examined this. One study found a significantly higher percentage of 12th grade Mexican-American males, compared to Anglos of the same SES, expressed preference for being "someone who doesn't mind giving up all of his pleasure now so that he can be sure of the future," rather than "someone who doesn't let his plans for the future keep him from enjoying the present (Heller, 1966)." Another study of 11th grade Mexican-Americans found them significantly more past oriented than Anglos of the same SES, but with no significant differences in present or future time orientations (Stone and Ruiz, undated). This study asked respondents to list ten topics talked or thought about in the preceding two weeks, and to indicate whether each referred to a present, past, or future event.

Research on black students has had generally similar results. Levy, in an experiment with adolescent boys, found that black subjects did not differ significantly from white ones in actual choice behavior involving a small immediate reward or a larger delayed reward (Levy, 1969). A questionnaire administered to black and white freshmen at nearby colleges found that black students consistently placed more emphasis than did white students on the importance of earning high grades over spending time on other activities (such as social or extracurricular activities) (Gaier & Watts, 1969).

Other studies with black subjects are particularly hard to assess because of the lack of comparative data on other populations. Gurin and Katz (1966), studying 4000 black students at southern black colleges, found that 84% would "probably not" or "definitely not" drop out of college for marriage; 76% would not drop out for a good job. The study revealed value differences between the sexes, with two-fifths of both the men and women feeling certain they wouldn't drop out for a good job, but only two-fifths of the women, as opposed to three-fifths of the men, certain that they would not drop out for marriage. Harrison (1959), using a modified Riessman scale, asked freshmen at a southern black college to indicate the conditions that would deter them from taking a good job, if

one were offered to them. Over 70% would postpone owning an automobile, and almost half were willing to give up social acitivities to work at an additional part-time job, but only one-third, or fewer, of the students were willing to put off marriage or to keep quiet on their political, religious or social views. (One wonders whether this indicates an unwillingness to delay gratification or a healthy desire for self-actualization.) Over half indicated that having to finish college would be a deterrent, but since two-thirds were willing to put in long hours of study, this seems an indication of uncertainty about their ability (academic, financial, etc.) to finish school, rather than of their unwillingness to defer gratification. Neither Gurin and Katz, nor Harrison compared their students with white students, but the picture is not one of an overwhelming need for immediate gratification. It is doubtful whether the questions asked of the students, however, really measured this characteristic, particularly as it operates in the real-life daily choice situations college students meet.

A few researchers have found differences in the level of willingness to delay satisfaction within black populations. Herson (1968) compared black Upward Bound participants who had completed the 10th grade with nonparticipants matched for race, SES, IQ and grades and used a modified form of the Riessman scale similar to Harrison's (1959). She found that participants were more willing to do without a car, put off marriage for several years, and take a part-time job requiring abstinence from social activities in order to get good jobs. They were less willing than nonparticipants, however, to do a year of on-the-job training at half pay. Herson also administered to her subjects Kluckhohn's V-scale, an 11-item scale purporting to test achievement related values and perceptions, including the willingness to defer gratification. She found no significant differences between groups. She was also surprised by the high modal score for the combined group (eight out of a possible eleven) and suggested that either the students rendered mere lip service to societal values (a problem with all "delayed gratification" tests) or that the advent of the civil rights movement had given blacks greater reason to delay gratification. A third study comparing different groups of black students was done by Bews, who scored TAT-type stimulus cards for future time perspective. He found that there was a positive concurrent correlation between future time perspective and academic achievement for college women but not for men and that, on the whole, the women students had consistently longer future time perspectives than men did. Dropouts from college had shorter

future time perspectives than those completing their first year of college (Bews, 1970).

Studies concerned with the characteristics of students from a low socioeconomic background have also failed to find evidence to support the immediate gratification theory. Stone and Ruiz found no significant differences in time orientation between their lower-class and middle-class subjects, irrespective of race (Stone and Ruiz, undated). Bradfield (1967) too found no significant differences on the Delay of Gratification scale of the MSU Work Beliefs Check List between low-income junior college and university males and their traditional counterparts. Levy found that her middle-class subjects were significantly more likely to choose a smaller but immediate reward (Levy, 1969). Lehmann administered Prince's Differential Values Inventory to Michigan State University students and found that the students of lower SES had higher mean traditional value scores than those from high educational and occupational backgrounds. "Traditional values" included the idea "that present needs should be sacrificed for future reward and satisfaction," as well as Puritan morality, individualism, and the work-success ethic (Lehmann, 1962). Unfortunately, scores on the individual scales are not given, so it is impossible to assess the extent of the differences in the area of "future rewards" alone. Moreover, the test involves choosing between paired statements beginning with the phrase "I ought to . . . " (e.g., "I ought to do things most other people do vs. I ought to do things which are out of the ordinary.") This wording clearly points up the difficulty inherent in most of the questionnaires trying to assess willingness to delay gratification: the possible discrepancy between intellectually honored values and actual behavior.

Caro (1965) using interview methods compared the extent to which middle- and working-class male high school juniors perceived college-going as an activity involving time conflict and requiring deferment. Few of the youth foresaw a time conflict in the immediate post-high school period, and differences in willingness to defer were ruled out as an explanation of differential rates of college attendance of middle-class and working-class students. Finally, Egeland, Hunt and Hardt (1970) studied Upward Bound participants who went to college versus those who did not go on to college, matched for GPA and high school curriculum. Using Strodbeck's "future orientation scale," they found the differences between the groups approached significance, with the college-goers appearing more willing to

postpone gratification. Both groups however scored fairly high on the tests (27.3 and 25.8 out of a possible 33).

Thus, as it stands, research data on new students indicates, on the whole, that they are as willing as traditional students to delay gratification in order to gain greater rewards. Yet the validity of this finding is questionable, just as a finding of unwillingness, if derived on the same basis would be questionable. As we have mentioned, the tests used in studying this characteristic do not concur in their definitions of it. Ruiz, Reivich, and Krauss (1967) correlated nine measures of "temporal perspective" and found no significant correlations between any of them. If a similar study were to be performed on the tests used to measure willingness to delay gratification, one would expect an almost equally negative finding. One wonders also about the factorial validity of the items which comprise the scale. Even if the different measures were more comparable, the problem of the relation of the tests to actual behavior still exists. Questions are usually so heavily "value laden" that the tendency for a student to select the socially approved answer, in preference to an answer agreeing with his own beliefs, or coinciding with his actual behavior, would appear to be an important factor in these tests. Beyond this, most of the questionnaires bear little apparent relationship to the daily situations college students have to face to this characteristic. For example, does a student's preference for $10 today rather than $30 next month indicate that he or she will go to the movies rather than study for an exam? Does a student's determination to stay in college rather than get married really indicate that he or she will spend a long time writing a term paper rather than socializing with friends? There is no evidence thus far to indicate that this is the case.

A second problem with the data lies in the nature of the sample populations. Many of the studies deal with high school students, and there is no way to tell whether the students who were less willing to delay gratification did not, in fact, go on to college. Moreover, as we have pointed out, many students from ethnic minorities and from low socio-economic backgrounds are not "new" students in terms of their ability levels. None of the studies restricts its sample both by race or class *and* ability.

Perhaps most important, is the fact that it is extremely difficult to interpret accurately behavior that is often seen as evidence of the desire for immediate gratification. The specific "delayed reward" simply may

not be as important to the disadvantaged student as it is to his counterpart. Possibly the student is so much less sure that he will be able to obtain the long-range rewards (e.g., good grades, graduate from school) that he is not really choosing between immediate and delayed satisfaction but between immediate satisfaction or none at all. (There is, of course, a great deal of evidence that indicates the new student *is* less sure of succeeding.) The new student is simply not getting the gratification from his college experience that the traditional student does. E. Gordon (1967) suggested that the problem of gratification is not one of differences between the groups of students in their willingness to delay gratification, but rather that the traditional college student, as an integral part of his college life, experiences many immediate satisfactions that are simply not accessible to the disadvantaged student (e.g., extended financial dependence, rich social life, perhaps an automobile and other frills). We might add that the traditional student has to spend less time studying in order to "get by," is more likely to get satisfaction out of his actual schoolwork than the new student, who has always had difficulty with academic work.

It may be possible to construct a test of willingness to delay gratification that would have a higher construct validity and be less susceptible to biased responses, but the most fruitful direction for both research and action would seem to be in the area of making the college experience a more gratifying one for the new student. Gurin and Katz (1966) pointed out the importance of providing task satisfaction to disadvantaged students, as well as giving them more assurances, through success experiences, that the long-range rewards will be available to them. Such a stratagem would appear to hold more promise for the education of new students than even the accurate measurement of an abstract characteristic.

CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO LOCUS OF CONTROL

There are a number of characteristics–passivity, dependency, lack of autonomy, conformity, authoritarianism, conservatism, and dogmatism–that at first glance appear to be both closely related to each other and to the individual's perceptions of external controls. Unfortunately, there is almost no published research exploring these relationships within the disadvantaged student population. Testing black students, Escoffery (1968) did find a correlation between external control and dogmatism,

and Epps (1969) found a small but significant relationship between his conformity scale, measuring a passive-conforming orientation toward the world, and external control as measured by Rotter's I-E scale; but these appear to be isolated studies. However, despite the lack of data, we will consider these characteristics as a group, for they do seem to form a logically coherent configuration.

Epps (1969) found a significant negative partial correlation between conformity and grades for his sample of black high school students (except for southern males). He also found that the conformity scale was the most consistent personality correlate, with vocabulary score across his four samples (northern and southern black males and females). Clarke and Ammons (1970), testing black and white male and female junior college freshmen on a number of measures, found that the Autonomy factor of the *How I See Myself* test was a significant predictor of grade point average only for black males. (It was, in fact, the only measure significantly forecasting the success of black males; even such aptitude or achievement measures as SCAT scores and twelfth-year grades were not significantly predictive of freshman grades for this group.) Schwartz (1968 and 1969) studied ninth and twelfth-grade Mexican-American and Anglo students, controlled for SES, and found that for Mexican-Americans "independence from family authority," "concern for peer over adult disapproval," and "autonomy" were significantly correlated with success. Finally, in a study of 66 American-Indians at Arizona State University, L. Williams (1970) found a significant negative correlation between grade point average and one score on the Rokeach Dogmatism scale (the dogmatism P score, a count of the number of items) with which respondents agreed.

Obviously, not only is there a lack of data on the subject, but the data available do not indicate a close relationship between achievement and the personality traits involved. Nevertheless, a number of researchers have attempted to discover whether one or another of these traits characterize new students as writers such as Bressler (1967), Morgan (1970), Ludeman (1960), and Pruitt (1970) have claimed. Several studies categorized students on ability or ability-related variables. Abbas (1968), using the Survey of Interpersonal Values to investigate differences between junior college terminal students, junior college transfer students, and university freshmen, discovered that both groups of junior college students scored significantly higher on Conformity than the university

students. However, there were no significant group differences on Independence. Behm (1968) used the 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire to compare community college students following transfer and occupational curricula; there were no differences between males in these groups on the Group Dependence vs. Self-sufficient scores, but occupational women were less self-sufficient than the transfer women. Bradfield (1967), as part of a larger study, compared low-income junior college students and low-income university freshmen on the DF Opinion Survey. The junior college group had higher dependence scores. Joesting & Joesting (1969) administered the Gough Adjective Check List to students at a southern black college, categorized by I.Q. scores; low-ability students considered themselves significantly more dependent than high-ability students did. Studies by Penn Valley Community College (1969) and Young (1966) with low-achieving community college students did not, however, find differences from the norm group on the Autonomy scale of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.

In the most extensive study, Cross (1971), using SCOPE data, found that low-ability students appeared to be more passive than high-ability students. The active-passive scale tried to distinguish between people who actively pursue what they want and those who passively accept what they get. Students in the lowest third on ability were roughly twice as likely to exhibit passivity traits as were high-ability students (46 percent of the low-ability group scored in the lowest third on the active-passive scale). The SCOPE project also tested students on an Autonomy scale, which might be more accurately called an Authoritarianism scale, as its items try to assess the extent to which a respondent is likely to accept or defer to categorical statements or judgments (e.g., "People ought to be satisfied with what they have," "More than anything else, it is good hard work that makes life worthwhile"), often with a politically conservative slant (e.g., "Only a fool would try to change our American way of life"). High scorers on this scale are said by the author to be liberal, nonauthoritarian, tolerant of viewpoints different from their own, and nonjudgmental in their relationships with people. As Cross pointed out, differences between ability groups were "dramatic"; over half of the low-ability students scored in the lowest third on the scale, with only 13 percent scoring in the top third. The scores for the high-ability students were just the other way around. Stewart (1966) used the Autonomy scale of the OPI, from which

the SCOPE scale was derived, and also found community college students had lower Autonomy scores (i.e., were more authoritarian).

Much of the research in this area has, as is customary, focused on black students, with somewhat varied results. Froe (1964) administered the California Psychological Inventory to black freshmen at Morgan State College and found mean scores lower than the norms on Intellectual Efficiency (indicating a lack of self-direction and discipline), Achievement via Independence (suggesting submissiveness and compliance before authority) and Tolerance (indicating suspiciousness, distrustfulness, and excessive judgmentalism). American University (1969) found similar divergencies from the CPI norms with their inner-city students. Froe (1968) administered a questionnaire to another group of Morgan State black freshmen and to white freshmen at several colleges. Blacks were not as independent of their families but there were no differences in "peer independence." Both groups of students appeared to be somewhat passive, with 60 percent of the blacks and 55 percent of the whites preferring mostly assigned over mostly independent work, and 42 percent of the whites and 38 percent of the blacks expressing dislike for assignments requiring original research.

McClain (1967) also tested southern black undergraduates, using the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire, and found the males to be more Group-Dependent (as opposed to self-sufficient) than the general college population; black women, however, scored very slightly above the norm (i.e., were more self-sufficient). Brazziel (1964a), Grossback (1957), and Guba *et al.* (1959) all used the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule to study southern black college students, and all found both black men and women lower on the Autonomy scale than white students. Sherman (1970) used the Survey of Interpersonal Values to explore differences between specially-admitted blacks, regularly-admitted blacks and regularly admitted whites at the University of Illinois. The specially-admitted blacks scored significantly higher on Conformity than the other two groups, which did not differ significantly from one another. However, there were no significant differences on the Independence scale. Another study by Sherman (1971) using the SIV compared black and white community college students. There were no significant differences between groups on any of the scales. Forbes and Gipson (1969), on the other hand, found black students at a small church-related university had significantly lower

scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Need for Social Approval scale than their white classmates.

Forbes and Gipson also tested their students on the Rokeach Opinionation and Dogmatism scales, the Right-Left Opinionation scale and a Rejecting-Accepting Scale. They found that black students were no more dogmatic than white students, were *more* accepting of opposing political viewpoints, and were farther to the political left than white students. These results contradict Steckler's early findings (1957) that black students are authoritarian (conventional, moralistic, and ultraconservative) on the California F scale and had conservative politico-economic attitudes (California Politico-Economic Conservatism scale). Perhaps the difference may be explained by the difference in time; Banks (1970) administered the F scale to black students again and found scores were down significantly from the Steckler's 1957 findings with males scoring around the theoretical neutral point and females well under (less authoritarian than) the neutral point.

A very few studies have focused on other ethnic minority groups. Ramirez (1967) administered the California F scale to Mexican-American and Anglo-American middle-class college students. The Mexican-Americans had higher authoritarianism scores, particularly the women. The Mexican-Americans also were in greater agreement with autocratic family ideology, emphasizing conformity, strict child-rearing and authoritarian submission. Again, women had higher scores. However, standard deviations were large among the Mexican-American population, indicating that the group members were in various stages of acculturation. Logan (1967) compared Anglo and Mexican-American males. Among the variables he was interested in was the Need for Power, which we regard as a correlate of Autonomy. He found that the TAT, a short autobiography, and the Rosen Scale of Values did not differentiate between the groups.

Two studies concern themselves with American-Indian students. L. Williams (1970) administered the Rokeach Dogmatism scale to Indian college students; their mean dogmatism score was low compared to Rokeach's sample norms, but the standard deviation was quite large. Ludeman (1960) researched the performance of Indian college students at a South Dakota college, but his personality descriptions do not seem to be founded on research data. He claims that Indian students tend toward attitudes of dependence.

Material dealing with the relation between SES and these characteristics among new students is also very limited. Epps (1969) found that among black students there was a modest negative correlation of SES with scores on the conformity-passivity scale; students with low family status were more likely than those with high family status to adopt a passive, conforming approach to life. Sherman (1970) divided his groups of specially-admitted blacks, regularly admitted blacks and regularly-admitted whites by socioeconomic levels. The lower and middle-status freshmen earned Conformity scores on the SIV that were similar, and significantly higher than the scores of the upper SES students. There were no significant differences by SES on either the Independence or Conformity scales of the SIV. However, upper SES students tended to score higher on Independence than both of the upper groups and particularly more than the lower status students; middle-status students tended to be less conformist than either of the other two groups, particularly than the lower status group. (Sherman also looked at sex differences and found that women tended to earn higher scores than men on Conformity, and lower scores on Independence.)

Results from two other studies do not confirm even these tentative findings. Soares and Soares (1971) compared a racially mixed group of disadvantaged college women to the norm group on the 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire and found that there were no significant differences on Group Dependence. Bradfield (1967) compared junior college and university low-income males with regular junior college and university males, using the DF Opinion Survey. The two university groups did not differ on the Dependence scale, nor did the two junior college groups. The combined low-income group was different from the regular group, in that the low-income students tended to express a greater need for freedom. Bradfield claimed that they are more nonconformist and antagonistic to system and order. At the end of one semester, both groups had increased in their need for freedom, but the low-income group showed the greater increase so that differences at that point were statistically significant. Differences between the groups on the Self-reliance/Dependence measure were very slight. Bradfield did find more results in the expected direction on the MSU Work Beliefs Check List, where the low-income students showed less motivation to organize and plan their activities, this perhaps indicating greater passivity. Again, by the end of the semester, this trend had become significant.

Finally, Wolfe (1972) presented an interesting discussion of many of these characteristics as he observed them in working-class students at Richmond College, a predominantly white group. Wolfe claimed "the word 'authoritarian' is too simple to describe anything that happens in my classroom. For one thing, authority is not something Richmond students impose upon the world; on the contrary, it has been imposed upon them . . . . they respond to authority in two basic ways, and the first is with a quite healthy skepticism . . . . their second response . . . . is (a kind of) apathy, by keeping quiet, by trying to make themselves as inconspicuous as possible" (p. 49). They were insecure about being independent and appeared to want him to make as many decisions as possible "so long as I pretend that they are in fact making them" (p. 50). Wolfe denied that his students (who, it should be remembered, are from New York City) are politically conservative; they have, he said, "very little allegiance to the American way of life," and are not "patriotic" (although they are apolitical rather than radicals for the most part). But he noted a characteristic picked up by the Autonomy (authoritarianism) measures: the students "are not relativists: they are not willing to look for merit in every position under the sun . . . . they believe that good and evil do exist . . . . they are not intolerant of liberalism, just skeptical and uninterested" (p. 52). While some of his colleagues see this as "doctrinaire intolerance," Wolfe claimed that his students "*in practice* are more tolerant of others and have more respect for diversity than many 'principled liberals.'" His observations suggest the need for caution in evaluating the significance of psychological test scores: the characteristic to be measured must be precisely defined, and its relationship to actual behavior carefully assessed rather than accepted on faith.

There are very few generalizations that can be made on the question of whether new students are more passive, conforming, dependent, nonautonomous, authoritarian, conservative, and dogmatic than traditional students. The research is sparse and inconsistent. Sample populations are usually small, many different measures of questionable construct validity are used as tests, and results vary even among apparently similar groups of students. The trend does appear to be somewhat in the direction of finding these attitudes to be characteristic, with the primary exception found in recent studies on black students (and perhaps Indian students) who do not, in fact, appear to be particularly authoritarian or conservative.

Further research is needed in the area, but there appears to be very little value in simply administering these same measures to more and more students. What is needed, rather, is more scrupulous, rigorous, and coherent attention to the definition and assessment of these qualities and, where they are found to exist and to bear on the educational needs of students (new and traditional), the development of responsive programs.

POWERLESSNESS

One of the characteristics frequently attributed to new students, and thought to be of great importance to their academic performance, is a sense of powerlessness. Disadvantaged students, whether from a low socio-economic bracket (Wolfe, 1972; Gordon, J., 1968; Meeker, no date) or from an ethnic minority (Noble, 1966; Delco, 1969; Harper, 1969; Vontress, 1969; Resnik and Kaplan, 1971b), are said to have little sense of control over their own lives.

Research in this area is occasionally found under headings such as "alienation," "anomie," or "conformity" (though these may also refer to somewhat different qualities), but the most commonly used term is "locus of control" or, more specifically, "internal-external control." As defined by Rotter (1966), a sense of internal control is distinguished by the belief that rewards follow from, or are contingent upon, one's own behavior. Conversely, the sense of external control is the belief that rewards are controlled by forces outside of oneself and thus may occur independently of one's own actions.

Lao (1970) reviewed the development of the theory of locus of control and the distinctions that should be made when testing for the characteristic. She cited the work of Crandall, Katkovsky and Crandall (1965), who noted "the importance of distinguishing different types of external environmental forces," particularly control by other people from control by impersonal forces, "since academic success and failure may have little to do with chance or luck but still be subject to external control through teachers' behaviors." Crandall, *et al.*, (1965) also stressed the importance of distinguishing between assuming the responsibility for causing positive events and accepting the responsibility for negative outcomes; "since the dynamics in assuming credit for causing good things to happen may be very different from those operating in accepting blame for unpleasant consequences."

Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie (1969), following these suggestions, as well as the work of Gurin and Katz (1966), made further refinements in measuring the concept of locus of control that are particularly useful for studying disadvantaged students. As Lao noted, they distinguish between beliefs about how much control one personally possesses (Personal Control) and how much control one believes most people in society possess (Control Ideology). The Internal-External Control of Reinforcement Scale (I-E Scale), developed by Rotter (1966) and others, does not distinguish between these beliefs and, in fact, contains mostly items dealing with ideological beliefs about what determines success for most people in society. The work of Gurin, *et al.*, showed that, at least among black students, their personal and ideological beliefs are not related and, as will be pointed out later, operate differently in their effect upon achievement and aspirations.

A second distinction made by Gurin, *et al.*, dealt with the question of internal assumption of blame for failure, as discussed by Crandall, *et al.*, (1965). They pointed out that "an internal response reflecting acceptance of blame . . . which might be considered 'normal,'" and even desirable, among the middle class, "may be extreme and intrapunitive for a Negro youngster growing up in poverty in the ghetto." For example, a black student who blames his failure to learn on his own "stupidity" rather than on the reality factors of poor schools, teachers or other external causes, is likely to be less, rather than more motivated. Gurin, *et al.*, concluded that it is "motivationally positive for a Negro youth to focus on discrimination and the way the social system structures the outcomes of Negroes in the society." Their internal-external control scale is thus multidimensional, with a measure of "individual-system blame," based on the above theory, a measure of "personal control" beliefs, and a measure of "control ideology."

These distinctions in the development of locus of control measures seem to be valid, both by logic and through research. Unfortunately, no work has been done to develop a scale of "individual-system blame" that would be appropriate for disadvantaged students of other ethnic groups or for economically disadvantaged white students.

Although the research on locus of control has suffered because the measure of the concept is still evolving, there is a fair amount of evidence substantiating the importance of the sense of internal control for new

students. Several studies dealing with this population have found a negative correlation between the sense of external control and achievement (and conversely, a positive correlation between internal control and achievement). Wade (1970), calling Rotter's I-E scale a measure of alienation, administered it to a group of ethnically undifferentiated low-ability students and found a significant negative correlation between alienation (i.e., External Control) and achievement. Gurin, *et al.*, (1969), found that black college students in the South, who were strongly internal on a personal control measure, had higher achievement test scores, higher college grades, and performed better on an anagrams task. (They found that high "internals" on control ideology actually performed *less* well.) Lao (1970), in a related but different study with 1,493 black males, also found that those scoring high on internal personal control had higher entrance test scores, higher grades, and higher scores on the anagrams test. Epps (1969) tested northern and southern black males and females in high school and found that "conformity," which he defined as similar to "external control," was "the most consistent personality correlate of vocabulary score across the four samples; high "externals" tended to have lower vocabulary scores. The partial correlation of conformity and grades was significant for all groups except southern males. However, the correlation between Epps' conformity scale and Rotter's I-E scale was only -.27 for males and -.34 for females, indicating that he was testing a characteristic perhaps related to, but certainly not identical to, external control. (For this reason, further discussion of Epps' work will be found in the section on Characteristics Related to Locus of Control.)

In the most widespread study of locus of control, Coleman, *et al.* (1966), found that for blacks, Mexican-Americans, American-Indians, and Puerto Ricans (to a somewhat smaller extent, however), a sense of internal control of the environment was the variable most highly related to verbal skills among twelfth graders. For whites and Orientals, the relationship is weak by the twelfth grade. On the other hand, Mitchell (1971), using Gurin's Multidimensional I-E Control scale, found that among white male students at an urban community college there was a significant correlation between achievement and of internal personal control. No such significant relationship was obtained, however, for white females or for black males and females.

Two studies did not find a relationship between achievement and the sense of control. Clarke and Ammons (1970) found that scores on

Rotter's Social Reaction Inventory, a measure of locus of control, did not predict grades of black and white community college students. In a somewhat different kind of study, Hunt and Hardt (1969) tested black and white disadvantaged students in Upward Bound with Rotter's I-E scale and found that a rise in the sense of internal control was not accompanied by a rise in grade-point average (in fact, the grade-point average of the black students went down). These results, however, do not seem to invalidate the other findings of the importance of locus of control; not only is the Rotter scale, because of its ideological nature, somewhat questionable, but many other factors are certainly involved in grade achievement. The sense of internal control appears to be necessary, but no study would claim that it is sufficient to account for academic performance.

Attempts also have been made to relate locus of control to other characteristics of new students. Escoffery (1968), using the Rotter scale, found that male students from southern black colleges who scored high in internal control were less alienated (on the Manifest Alienation Measure) and were more open minded (on the Dogmatism Scale).

More frequently, attempts have been made to relate the concept to aspirations. Gurin and Katz (1966) found that, in southern black colleges, males with a high sense of internal personal control aspired to more prestigeful, demanding, and nontraditional occupations than more "external" males. Males with an external sense of personal control, but strong internal control ideology aspired to occupations significantly lower in prestige, ability demands, and nontraditionality than those who felt that external factors accounted for others' successes and failures as well as their own. Gurin and Katz suggested that this combination—believing that success is a function of internal virtues, but not believing in one's *own* capacity to produce the desired goal, may create a self-blame mechanism that is destructive to aspirations. The authors also found that males who attributed failure among blacks to discrimination, rather than to internal inadequacy, had significantly higher aspirations for nontraditional jobs. Results for women were similar to findings for men; however, only the scale concerning beliefs about black success and failure tapped aspirations to nontraditional occupations. An interesting negative finding was that the sense of control did not distinguish realistic from unrealistic aspirations for low-ability students, only for those of high ability. Nor was the sense

of control as important for low SES, low-ability males in accounting for aspirations as it was for all other groups; for them, achievement values bore the greatest relation to aspirations. (It should be pointed out that on a nationwide scale, most of the students in the Gurin-Katz sample would be of fairly low SES.)

Two other studies attempting to relate locus of control to aspirations and other variables were carried out by Lao (1970) and Mitchell (1971), employing Gurin's measures or a variation of them. Lao found that personal control related positively to higher educational expectations and aspirations, as well as to academic self-confidence. Mitchell again found a relationship between high aspirations and personal control for the white male students, but not for the other students. He also found a positive relationship for the black male students between nontraditional, occupational expectations and external or "system" blame, thus confirming the Gurin and Katz findings, at least for black men.

Despite the research difficulties, exploration of the locus of control appears to be a fruitful avenue for those interested in helping new students. *Unlike most of the secular characteristics studied, locus of control seems to bear a real and consistent relationship to achievement and aspirations.* Thus it is particularly important to determine whether new students do, in fact, tend to lack a sense of internal control. Thus far, the research, though plagued by the usual deficiencies of varied measures and exclusive preoccupation with black students, does suggest that a large proportion of new students suffer from the belief that they are externally controlled, that they lack the power to manage their environment, and to obtain rewards by their own behavior.

One study, Clarke and Ammons (1970) tested both black and white freshmen at St. Petersburg Jr. College with Rotter's Social Reaction Inventory, and found that the whole population rated themselves higher on external control than all other groups tested by Rotter, including black psychology students at a southern state university and a nationwide group of high school students.

Another study dealt with ethnically undifferentiated low-ability students: Wade (1970) found that college freshmen with marginal entrance qualifications had higher alienation scores, i.e., "external" scores on the I-E scale that were consistently higher, when compared with means reported for other college populations or college applicants. Their scores

compared closely to the mean of a group of unselected high school students whose college plans were not definite.

Other studies of locus of control have dealt with ethnic and/or class factors and not concerned themselves with ability or achievement. With a population of white and black Upward Bound participants, Hunt and Hardt (1969), using Rotter's I-E scale, found that black students scored slightly lower on internal control than whites (21.74 to 22.92 out of a possible 13 to 26). The authors pointed out, however, that the samples are not necessarily representative of low-income high school students of different racial groups (since the primary purpose of their research was to study changes resulting from the program). Burbach and Thompson (1971), using the Dean Alienation Scale, tested black, white, and Puerto Rican freshmen at a large urban university. The scores of Powerlessness, which is "conceived as a feeling of being used and manipulated by others for purposes other than one's own," are interesting. The black students obtained the highest mean score on this subscale, significantly higher than the whites and slightly higher than the Puerto Ricans, who, in turn, were slightly higher than the white students. The authors pointed out that their Puerto Rican sample was not representative of the urban Puerto Rican population, with most respondents from stable family and community backgrounds in suburban areas. This may account for their relatively low powerlessness scores (as well as their low scores on the other subscales).

As previously mentioned, the most comprehensive testing of ethnic groups on locus of control, by size and variety of sample though not by measure used, is the work of Coleman, *et al.*, (1966). On the three items, "Good luck is more important than hard work for success," "Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me," and "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life," all minority twelfth-graders showed a much lower sense of control of their environment than white students. Puerto Rican students expressed the least sense of internal control, and the Oriental students were closest to the whites. Black, Mexican-American, and Indian students obtained very similar scores, except that Indians agreed more frequently with the statement that "something or somebody stops me." Although differences between the whites and the other students were greatest on the "good luck" item, the most personal item, "something or somebody stops me," received the highest percentage of agreement in each group, thus providing some

support for Gurin's thesis that personal control items, rather than ideologically oriented ones, are more likely to tap true feelings or estimates.

Coleman concluded, "children from advantaged groups assume that the environment will respond if they are able enough to affect it; children from disadvantaged groups do not make this assumption, but in many cases assume that nothing they will do can affect the environment—it will give benefits or whithold them but not as a consequence of their own acti- " It should be pointed out, however, as Carter (1970) did, that while the minority group children *are* on the average more "fatalistic," i.e., have less of a sense of internal control, in no group did the majority agree with the external control position. For example, on the item receiving the highest external responses, slightly less than one-third of the Puerto Ricans actually agreed with the statement. (Nevertheless, since large percentages in every group were "not sure," less than half of the ethnic minority students actually *disagreed* with this statement.) Unfortunately, Coleman did not control for SES on these questions, so it is impossible to tell how much of the lack of internal control is associated with ethnicity and how much with class.

Three studies using questions not reflecting the complexity of the concept, suggest that black students do exhibit a strong sense of internal control. The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (1972) obtained responses to a questionnaire from over 52,000 black eleventh and twelfth-graders. About 56 percent agreed "strongly" or "somewhat" that chance and luck are unimportant; about 48 percent agreed that individuals do not influence events; and about 82 percent agreed that success is a result of hard work, with females agreeing slightly more often than males on the latter two questions. Gurin's cautions about the weak validity of ideological beliefs as a measure of the sense of internal control, appear relevant when assessing these results. Knoell (1970), in interviews with black high school graduates who were not attending college, found that they "avoided blaming the schools for their predicament, accepted responsibility for their level of educational achievement, and viewed themselves as 'average' students who could have done better in high school." Given the poor high school education most ghetto students receive, as well as the other social forces acting to diminish their performance and motivation, this response may or may not be realistic; in

any case, as Gurin would point out, their feelings of self-blame may be dysfunctional. Another study involving the question of blame attribution, as well as the problem of distinguishing between "chance" as opposed to other external forces, was done by Hedegard and Brown (1969). They tested black freshmen in a special program at the University of Michigan, comparing them to a random sample of white freshmen. They found the groups did not differ in tendencies to choose either intra- or extrapunitive reasons for falling short of sought grades. They also found that black students were less likely to say that luck played a part in the good and bad things that happened to them. Unfortunately, no mention is made of the alternative choices given to the students.

Two additional works dealing with ethnic minorities other than black students exist. As reported in Battle and Rotter (1963), Graves and Jessor adapted the I-E scale for high school students and studied ethnic differences in an isolated tri-ethnic community. They found whites to be most internal, followed by Spanish-Americans. Indians were most external in attitudes. Although economic factors undoubtedly contributed to differences, Graves felt that "ethnicity" was an important source of variance after other factors were controlled. In the second study, with somewhat limited application, but important because it shows the dangers of generalizing about new students, Tefft (1967) compared Arapaho, Shoshone and white high school students, living in the same area, on a scale of Anomie (adapted from the Srole scale). The items seem to relate closely to the sense of powerlessness (and thus to locus of control) in that they "appear to measure the despair and discouragement experienced by people when they are unable to exercise any confidence and trust that their desires and wishes may be realized." Results showed little difference between Shoshone and white students; significantly greater numbers of Arapaho students, however, scored high on the Anomie scale. Tefft attributed these results to the fact that the Arapaho are considered inferior by the white community, unlike the Shoshone.

Although some studies found class differences in the sense of control, with the middle class appearing more "internal" than the lower class, these did not deal with older high school and "new" college students (e.g., Battle and Rotter, 1963; Strodtbeck, 1958). One work, dealing with college students, found somewhat contradictory results. Gurin and Epps (1966) divided students at southern black colleges into four socio-

economic groups–severe poverty level, marginal poverty level, adequate income, and comfortable income. The income groups did not differ on Rotter's Internal-External Control scale. However, when asked for reasons for uncertainty about finishing college or going to graduate school, the poor students were, understandably, more concerned with external reality problems, such as lack of finances, support of other siblings or other family responsibilities, whereas the wealthier students were more concerned with internal factors (e.g., fear of failure, doubts about ability, lack of positive motivation, etc.). Since the scores on the I-E scale are not given, it is impossible to tell whether they were depressed or normal for the entire population. One also wonders if results would have been different if the Gurin measure of personal control, rather than Rotter's ideological scale, had been used.

The kinds of strategies one chooses to enhance students' sense of internal control depend on the analysis one makes of the source of the feelings of powerlessness. If one sees them as unrealistic, as personal, psychological problems, then therapeutic measures for the individual should be invoked. However, such measures are certainly not relevant if the sense of powerlessness is reality based, as many writers claim it is for the economically or ethnically disadvantaged (e.g., Coleman, 1966; Wolfe, 1972). Coleman pointed out that "a child from an advantaged family most often has had all his needs satisfied, has lived in a responsive environment, and hence, can assume that the environment will continue to be responsive if only he acts appropriately. A child from a disadvantaged family has had few of his needs satisfied, has lived in an unresponsive environment, both within the family (where other demands pressed upon his mother) and outside the family, in an . . . often unfriendly world. Thus he cannot assume that the environment will respond to his own actions." Although many white, middle-class students will reject this roseate description of their early lives, there can be little question of the fact that the environment tends to be particularly unrewarding for the disadvantaged.

A few writers have discussed possible strategies for the development of a sense of internal control in new students, placing an emphasis on changes in the environment as well as changes in the student. Noble (1966), concentrating on political power, suggested that for many youth, especially black youth, "there must be some tangible evidence that (a) learning equips them to share in the power structure, and (b) some

feeling that educators . . . are sympathetic to the need for them to strive for power." She suggested that counselors encourage black youth to identify with black self-help programs. Wolfe (1972), keenly aware of the realistic feelings of powerlessness among his working-class students, discussed the difficulties he finds himself in; he would have liked to give his students power in the classroom but their insecurity makes the unstructured class an impossibility. His solution was a compromise: he attempted to give some structure, but to allow for variation within. If students "passionately object" to his structure, he "will throw it out, but only reluctantly, for I insist that I have something to offer them."

Gurin and Katz (1966) offered the most detailed analysis of the problems involved in developing a sense of internal control, and most of their suggestions seem applicable not only to blacks but to other minority groups and to white students as well. They suggested a two-fold stratagem: "1. Verbal assurances may be very helpful but they should be tied to actual success experiences in which the student knows his success is connected to his own actions. 2. These actual success experiences that follow from the student's own performance should occur frequently enough for him to internalize a sense of personal control that will protect him against the debilitating effects failure is likely to have when self-confidence is not well ingrained." Their specific proposals included success feedback, progressing from easier to more difficult material, using programmed instruction, and providing actual job experiences which "may be one of the most potent forces in helping students believe in their capacities to bring about the goals they want as a function of their own actions."

Gurin and Katz also stressed the importance of educating black students toward realistic beliefs about the way the social system operates, so that they do not blame themselves for results that are the consequences of discrimination. The students, moreover, should be encouraged to deal with these factors with individual efforts when they impinge on their own lives, and through collective efforts also. Gurin and Katz suggested this can be done not only through classroom instruction, but through the encouragement of participation in social and educational change activities. Their research indicated that students who participated in social change activities during their year in college had a greater sense of personal control, as well as a stronger belief in the importance of discrimination at

the end of the year. The sense of personal control did not differentiate between participants and nonparticipants at the beginning of the year, indicating that its growth was, probably, a consequence of the activism. These suggestions are, of course, obviously appropriate to other minority ethnic groups, but they can undoubtedly be useful with economically disadvantaged whites (Wolfe stressed such an approach in his work), and with women.

Several conclusions can be reached from the work that has been done thus far on "powerlessness" and "locus of control." First, although it has not yet been fully proven, it appears that the sense of internal control may very well affect achievement and motivational drives of new students. More research is needed in this area. Second, further development of more refined measures, following Gurin's direction, would be helpful, particularly development of instruments that would be applicable to nonblack students. In general, more research among nonblack populations is necessary. Finally, and most important, enough evidence already exists to indicate that feeling powerless is a problem for a large portion of new students. Programs can, and should, be instituted that are aimed at developing in new students a realistic sense of both personal and collective power; such programs must include the development of a campus environment that not only encourages, but is responsive to efforts at personal control.

SOCIAL, FAMILY AND PEER INFLUENCES

In addition to intrinsic factors like motivation, negative self-concept, etc., which are said to distinguish the new student and hinder his performance in higher education, there are other more extrinsic influences to which many writers have alluded in discussing the educational problems of the low-achieving, minority, economically and educationally disadvantaged student. Social, family and peer pressures have attracted considerable interest in this connection. The general belief seems to be, no matter the level of talent or the degree of motivation of the student, that background influences will act to inhibit or interfere with the individual's performance, or keep him from realizing his capabilities to the fullest. Stanley (1971) expressed that point of view as follows:

> Children (of the uneducated poor) suffer compound disadvantages; educationally unstimulating homes, poorly developing academic

> abilities, lack of financial resources and community influences (especially peers) that are educationally disabling [p. 645].

And Kiernan and Daniels (1967) offered the conclusion that ". . . the grip of the subcultures, whether racial, ethnic, poverty or class, looms significantly as a behavior determinant for many of our students (p. 135)."

Ware and Gold (1971) listing the characteristics of disadvantaged community college students identified by peer counselors, named fear of ridicule from peers, limited social experience contributing to feelings of loneliness, lack of parental understanding about institution, and no place to study at home as some of the conditions that students must overcome and which the peer counseling program at Los Angeles City College is aimed at rectifying. Something of the same sense is conveyed by Petri (1971) who, in commenting about students at CUNY and their initial difficulties, said:

> The college had not been sensitive to the fact that it was dealing now with many students who had a history of defeats, of failures, of humiliations. What these students needed most at the outset was support, support they would not find among their friends or families or within themselves [p. 39].

This parental resistance to college-going has been mentioned by Vontress (1968).

David Bell (1969) surveyed educational opportunity program students at San Fernando Valley (California) State College and reported that these students, in addition to possessing the standard freshman anxieties, believed that their home environment was a considerable handicap to them and that they felt intense peer pressure to perform above what was perceived as their level. The matter of family pressure has also been mentioned by Pruitt (1970) who said that the student may suffer additional stress because of family pressure to succeed while simultaneously experiencing the difficulties of accommodating to new sets of values appropriate to college. Boney (1967) reported a recurring theme in group counseling sessions with nonwhites is wariness about acceptance by fellow classmates.

Specific assertions about the way in which the background, particularly family background, works have been advanced by Rainwater (1966) who said that for the slum child the main thrust of his experience is to learn what he cannot do, to learn about blocks and barriers and the

futility of trying. This theme was echoed by Mayerson (1965) who recorded conversations with two high school seniors; one, Peter, a traditionally college bound student, the other, Juan, a Puerto Rican in a vocational program. She quoted Juan:

> I think about what I should do when I get out of school, and I just don't know. The people in my neighborhood, in Harlem, or downtown, they're all doing it wrong. And if one tries to get out the rest laughs. Like they say they tried and couldn't do it, so you're not going to do it either. And this guy feels "Well, maybe I can't do i ," and he comes back into the slum. You figure, you know, they failed man, I might as well give up [p. 104].

Allen (1967) in interviews with three minority students at UCLA recorded some of this same sense of difficulty of disrupting family ties and demands. George, a Mexican-American, contended that breaking away from the family is hard for a Mexican-American. The parents oppose their children leaving home to go to school and the oldest son, he said, traditionally has the responsibility to contribute to the family income after graduation from high school. Lena, a Chinese student and Jimmie, a black also reported similar difficulties. The influence of the Mexican-American family structure and its conflict with Anglo values has attracted particular attention (Rodriguez, 1968; Cervantes, 1970; Guerra and others, 1969).

While these opinions are fairly consistent and seem to denote comparable problems across the whole spectrum of new students, the research findings are much more mixed.

In studies of family influences Gurin and Epps (1966) found that motivation for college attendance was independent of family, economic, and related social circumstances of 3000 Deep South black college students, and they questioned the emphasis given to family structure and early socialization practice as contributors to aspiration and achievement. Gurin (1966) also related parental influence to occupational aspirations of black southern college students and found that high status parents (who also have the greatest influence on their children) seemed to encourage males toward prestigeful and highly demanding occupations, but discouraged the choice of nontraditional ones; with females it facilitated the choice of conventional and role-appropriate occupations, but constrained selection of highly demanding and difficult occupations.

McClain (1967) explained the atypical and morbid personality picture manifested by his black college students in terms of what he

labeled the matriarchal family; this produced identity problems in the men and close identification with the responsible "head of family model" in women. P. Smith (1964) was also led to interpret a relatively higher incidence of home problems as reported on the Adjustment Inventory by black college students as the outgrowth of conflicts with their parents about philosophies of life, value systems, growing independence and adjustment (in college) to middle-class values. In view of the fact that the frequency of such problems does not vary much from honor, to probation, to "other" students these findings seem to fit the standard experience of students leaving home and undergoing the more or less commonplace crises of identity. Knoell (1970) reported that disadvantaged blacks see their families as strongly supportive of their efforts to obtain an education, and most of them preferred to live at home while attending school.

These investigations of black students do not point to any profoundly oppressive influences growing out of family relationships. In comparative studies, Froe (1968) found black college freshmen showed lower family independence scores than did whites. Greene and Kester (1969), comparing black and white students at Chabot (California) Community College on the Mooney Problems Check List, found that significantly more blacks indicated "Parents expecting too much of me" as a problem area. Katz (1968) in his studies of younger students was led to speculate that black youth are more likely than white to internalize parental values and goals; some support to this view was given by Hedegard and Brown (1969) who noted that black students, although they are less likely to turn to parents for advice on important matters, do have greater determination to satisfy parental wishes through their lives and careers. Kitano and Miller (1970) cited the value system in the family as crucial to success in college, and suggested that the expectations of the family may be more crucial to the college career than SES. They reported some interview statistics indicating the percent of times students said attending college was very important to them or very important to their fathers. Broken down by ethnic groups their results were as follows:

Group	*Percent very important to student*	*Percent saying very important to father*
Whites	52	70
Blacks	69	53
Mexican-Americans	56	65

The situation for black and white students is nearly reversed, with Mexican-Americans, inconsistently with the cultural stereotypes, falling in between.

However, Smith and Abramson (1962) found that for matched groups of black and white high school students, mobility aspiration as measured by Rosen's Achievement Syndrome was independent of satisfactory-unsatisfactory family experience. Harris (1970) had 660 junior and senior college students, black and white, answer whether "*parents*, some other relative or any person who helped raise you" influenced the decision to enter college. Personal motivation was tapped by asking if the decision to attend college was "influenced by *strong, personal desires*." For students with high-status background, personal influences were more important for blacks; parental influences were stronger for whites. For low-status students, personal influences were more important than parental influences in all but the case of black women. However, in almost all instances, both personal and parental influences are present and highly important and the differences are small. In one subanalysis, parental influence was found to be a function of the educational level of the respondent's parents.

Lanza (1970) in his study of black and white college and university students concluded that parental attitudes such as high maternal self-esteem, emotional stability, as well as a number of other indicators suggesting stable family life were associated with self-esteem in students, but that these antecedents were independent of race and sex. Needham (1966) in his comparison of black and white university students noted that blacks placed less value on Support and Recognition (as evaluated by the Survey of Interpersonal Values) than did whites of essentially the same age and class standing.

Comparative studies have also been made of Anglos and Mexican-Americans concerning the influence of family. C.W. Gordon, *et al.* (1968) inquired into aspects of social and cultural background to account for the educational behavior of Mexican-American junior high and high school students. Surveying sixth, ninth and twelfth-grade Anglos and Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles they found that Mexican-Americans were much more favorably oriented to parental control of behavior and showed greater concern for adult as opposed to peer disapproval, and this was less likely to be associated with socioeconomic level. The factors predicting

academic success for Mexican-Americans included independence from family authority, concern for peer over adult disapproval, and independence from the opinions of peers.

> Mexican-American pupils' success in their senior high school careers differ from their Anglo peers in their . . . greater concern for peer rather than adult disapproval . . . [p. 91].
>
> . . . . By moving away from the strong influence of the family, which is a dominant Mexican-American institution, the pupil frees himself of the cultural ties which may inhibit his achievement [p. 93].

Schwartz (1968, 1969) in a comparative study of Mexican-American and Anglo ninth and twelfth-grade students controlled for SES also found that school achievement for Mexican-Americans was associated with independence from family authority and concern for peer and adult disapproval. Both Gordon and Schwartz remarked that the attitudes of the two groups of students seemed to converge, as the grade in school increased, although this may reflect the processes of selection or attrition as much as the work of the school or the acculturation process. The Gordon and Schwartz studies met with some shrill criticism at the hands of Rocca (1970) and Hernandez (1970). In an earlier study, conceptually similar to those of C.W. Gordon and Schwartz, Demos (1960, 1962) studied matched groups of Anglo and Mexican-American seventh, ninth and twelfth-graders comparing their responses to a 29-item attitude scale assessing impressions of the value of school and of the desirability of a number of activities or experiences associated with it. He found that his groups did not differ on desirability of peer influence or on desirability of parental pressure for education, but that Anglo-American students tended to place somewhat higher value on the desirability of a gang.

Ramirez (1967) found that a family attitudes scale consisting of items chosen to reflect Mexican family values differentiated sharply between samples of 70 third-generation Mexican-Americans and 70 Anglo college students. Comparing some of the patterns of replies to specific items used by other investigators he also found differences between Mexican-Americans, Anglo-Americans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, from which he concluded that the process of assimilation of Anglo values proceeds unevenly among Mexican-American subjects. McNamara (1970) found academic success for Mexican-American students enrolled at the University of Texas at El Paso was independent of family background

factors, and suggested that if there are ethnic-related factors to account for Anglo and Mexican-American achievement differences, they may be found in sociopsychological relationships within family and peer levels, although the nature of such possible relationships was not specified. Not surprisingly, Godoy (1970) observed Mexican-American college graduates, when compared to nongraduates reported greater support from parents and sibs than comparable high school graduates and based his recommendation to encourage parental and sibling support of educational goals on this fact. [illegible]967) compared Anglo Protestants, Anglo Catholics, Mexican-Ame[illegible]an and Mexican college men on a variety of needs, including need for affiliation. He found the Mexican group scored higher than the other three groups on affiliation, as measured by TAT and autobiographical indices.

These studies of family and parental influences on scholastic behavior of Mexican-Americans seem to add up to the suggestion that, while there may be familial influences, their potency depends on the situation in which they are found. While there is some evidence of the durability of Mexican family attitudes, there is also data pointing to unevenness of rates of assimilation of Anglo values and some suggestion that success may hinge, in part, on the extent to which this has occurred, this presuming the student is enrolled in a conventional, Anglicized type of curriculum.

Two studies of family influence on Indian-Americans have been recorded in the literature. McGrath, *et al.* (1962) indicated that lack of encouragement from family is a principal cause of Indian students dropping out of college, and that persistence and success vary according to the extent the individual accepts the dominant culture or, identifies with white society. Family characteristics associated with success included the level of education attained by the parents, a relationship also noted by Hoffman (1969) in his study of Indian adolescent boys. These findings carry no surprises, of course; parents with more education are likely to have been at least partly co-opted by the larger culture and would impart its values to their children.

There have been surprisingly few studies made of the influences of peers on the academic performance of the new student. Berg (1965) remarked that low-ability students seem to make educational and vocational choices in accord with the standards of their student peer groups, rather than in accord with any realistic assessment of their own needs or

potentials. They show strong need to conform to peer culture standards. Yet, Hall (1968) found middle SES groups earned higher Peer Relationship scores on the Inventory of Self-Appraisal than did lower SES students. Although the scale did not differentiate between low- and high-achieving high school students, it did discriminate between low-achieving lower and middle socioeconomic groups, with the middle group earning higher scores.

Black students, according to Bayer and Boruch (1969a) are especially more likely to assign personal importance to obtaining recognition from peers, and also more likely to share notes with fellow students than are whites; however, Froe (1968) found no significant differences between black and white college freshmen on peer independence. Willie and Levy (1972) found that token black enrollment in white colleges condemns black college students to unhappy social lives, creates discord between both races, and the black coed suffers most from this situation. The essential point here is that the student's tenure in an institution is likely to be influenced by the kinds of peer and social relationships that obtain it, and if his social life is unsatisfying, his persistence in college is likely to be affected adversely. However, the typical new student does not leave home to live at college so the type of disruption of social relationships described by Willie and Levy is not the general rule.

Our review of the literature on parental, peer, and social influences on academic performance of the new student points out, once again, the gaps in the research and the tentative and guarded nature of the generalizations advanced. While it seems plausible to argue that the kinds of relationships existing in the home will bear on the performance of the student, these relationships vary greatly even within relatively homogeneous ethnic groups, and some of the *a priori* conclusions drawn about the necessary implications of this type of environmental influence are not well-founded and certainly need more carefully formulated and highly specified research.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The foundation of most special programs for disadvantaged students is financial aid (R.L. Williams, 1969). Yet the importance of adequate assistance for the new student, who is from a low-income family and also of low-ability or at least, characterized by a history of low-achievement,

is perhaps not fully appreciated. In this section, we have included a sample of the literature dealing with this problem.

Several studies have discussed the financial problems of ethnically undifferentiated disadvantaged students. Berg and Axtell (1968) administered a questionnaire to 1068 students at California community colleges. Seventy-six percent of the disadvantaged students, compared to 34 percent of the nondisadvantaged, replied that money was a problem for them most of the time. Sixty-five percent of the disadvantaged, compared to 36 percent of the nondisadvantaged, compared to 26 percent of the nondisadvantaged, stated that "not having enough money" was one of their reasons for disliking college. (It was, in fact, the foremost reason, as well as the greatest problem.) Since the disadvantaged students mentioned significantly more often than the nondisadvantaged that "inadequate time for study" was an important problem and an important source of their dislike for college, the conflict between resolving financial problems and resolving academic problems is apparent. Although about one-third of the students in both groups worked 20 or more hours per week, as Berg and Axtell noted, "for the disadvantaged students who usually have serious academic problems, this additional time demand is quite significant."

However, the research data on the role of financial difficulties as a cause of attrition is somewhat mixed. The Coordinating Council for Higher Education–Northern California Cooperative Research Project on Student Attrition (CCHE-NORCAL) (1971) compared 1436 nonpersisters with a random group of persisters (N=1436) and found dropouts were most likely to come from a low-income family and more likely to express greater concern over financial and employment matters. Whether that was the cause of their dropping out is impossible to ascertain.

Dispenzieri *et al.* (1968), comparing persisters and nonpersisters in the College Discovery Program for disadvantaged high-risk students, found that few of the dropouts gave financial difficulties and job responsibilities as their *primary* reason for leaving, but many were concerned about these problems. Thirty-one percent of the nonpersisters agreed with the statement "Because I had a job I couldn't keep up with my studies," 23 percent with "Even though tuition was free, my family couldn't afford having me attend college," and 18 percent with "Expenses connected with going to college, like carfare and lunches were too great for me." Twelve percent of the dropouts, compared to 4 percent of the persisters,

stated that not enough time to study and having to work were their chief difficulties in the program. Eighteen percent compared to 10 percent of the persisters, mentioned "improvement in my financial condition," as a change that might have helped them overcome their difficulties. It should be noted that more survivors than dropouts received stipends regularly (partly because funds were not generally available in the first year).

Montgomery's findings, (1970) however, conflict with these results. In a study of high-risk persisters and nonpersisters at a community college, she found that the successful students worked *more* hours per week and reported significantly *more* problems in the area of Finance, Living Conditions and Employment (on the Mooney Problem Check List) than did unsuccessful students.

Several researchers have explored this problem area specifically with black students. P. Smith (1964) administered the Adjustment Inventory to honor students, probationary students, and "others" at a black southern college. Students in three groups stated their greatest difficulty was their feeling of economic deprivation (listed first by one-third in each group). Greene and Kester (1970) found that black students at a community college had significantly more problems in the area of "Finances, Living Conditions, and Employment" on the Mooney Problem Check List than white students. Specific items with significant differences were "too little money for clothes," "going through school on too little money," "family worried about finances," "transportation or commuting difficulty," and "too little money for recreation."

A study of entering students at American University (1969) also found the inner-city students more concerned about financial problems. Substantially larger percentages of these students had jobs or wanted them, and planned to spend more hours per week working. They saw "meeting financial expenses" as their second biggest source of difficulty in adjusting to college (22 percent compared to 4 percent of the traditional students). Financial problems were also seen by Clark and Plotkin (1963) as the greatest reason for dropping out among black students at selective integrated institutions.

However, these findings distinguishing between white and black students were not completely confirmed by Berg and Axtell (1968). On several of their measures–whether money is a problem, number of hours working, not having enough money as a cause of disliking college–there

were no significant differences between white and black students. Proportions were very high for both groups, with at least 50 percent of the students in each group, as well as the Mexican-Americans, stating that they had serious money problems most of the time, and over a third of each group stating that "not enough money" was a source of dislike for college. On the questionnaire asking for identification of present needs and problems, 53 percent of the black students, compared to 44 percent of the white students, cited inadequte financing. The only possible conclusion is that many white students at the community colleges are also beset with financial problems, not that they are insignificant for black students.

Little research has been done on the financial problems of Mexican-American students, although several articles have commented on them. Berg and Axtell (1968) found on some of their measures that the Mexican-American students were significantly more concerned with financial problems than white students and even black students. Robinson (1968) asked Mexican-American students why their friends dropped out of college or did not go in the first place; "not enough money" was by far the most frequently mentioned cause.

Cervantes (1970), Guerra (1969), and Gomez and Vasquez (1969) also discussed the special financial problems of Mexican-American students. Cervantes pointed out that the Chicano student is expected not only to cease being a burden to his family but to contribute to its income as soon as possible. Because he also needs more study time due to inadequate preparation, he requires substantial financial aid. Gomez also suggested financial aid specifically oriented to the problems of the Mexican-American student not based on experience with middle-class students, which would take into account family needs through a family stipend, the necessity for extra study time (with students not required to work in the first or even second year), and the often overlooked health, clothing, food, and transportation needs.

The scarcity of literature on other minority groups is typical in this area too, but there is one study on American-Indian students in the southwest. McGrath (1962), although he didn't find a correlation between grade-point average and finances, reported that tribal leaders most often cited financial reasons as the greatest cause of Indian dropouts (48 percent gave it as the major reason).

A number of writers have made recommendations for financial aid programs to disadvantaged students. P. Smith (1964) and R. Williams (1969) recommended training in financial management, and Williams, as well as Gomez and Vasquez (1969), mentioned the need for enough funds to cover clothes and social activities, if the student is to be assimilated and to feel self-respect. He also recommended scholastic incentive awards. However, Williams suggested that students be required to earn a portion of their support, thus disagreeing with writers such as Gomez (1969), Cervantes (1970), and Wortham (undated) on this point.

Wortham presented the fullest discussion of the value of various financial aid measures to disadvantaged students. He pointed out that when a disadvantaged student goes to college he cannot be, as he normally would, a wage earner for his family. The extent of his need may be underrated because his parents, out of pride, may have inflated their income on financial statements. He has a fear of loans, which represent an overwhelming burden to the poor family. Rightly or wrongly, he has a negative attitude to work-study jobs if they are menial, as they often are; and his probable academic problems make it unwise for him to work. Wortham suggested students not be required or even allowed to work during their freshman year, and after that they should work only if they are in good academic standing, and for no more than ten hours per week. He also suggested scholastic incentive awards.

Hugh Lane, President of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, is quoted by Wortham as saying "A 'yes' (admissions) decision with a financial package heavily weighed with loan and work-study when delivered to a poor student represents poor educational practice. . ." (p. 11). The concern of educators with the scholastic and secular problems of new students must not allow them to overlook the financial strain college attendance puts on these students. The weaker the student is, the more he may need economic aid to devote more time and energy to his studies. Although the research evidence does not clearly indicate that financial problems are the cause of academic failure or nonpersistence for the new student, much evidence exists indicating that if he is to deal competently with his other problems, he must be financially secure.

POSITIVE QUALITIES OF NEW STUDENTS

We have noted elsewhere in this report the preoccupation of the literature with new students' alleged negative qualities and deficiencies. A

number of studies found that new students equal or surpass traditional students in various positive characteristics, yet researchers seem always to be surprised when they find results favoring the new students, and such findings have rarely been picked up in the "thought" pieces and popular literature which condition most thinking in the field.

It is true that new students show rather consistently lower scores on measures of academic ability than do traditional ones. However, even in this area, when the new student is defined by race or class, rather than by low ability, studies sometimes have found that college grades and, more often, persistence rates are as good or better than those of traditional students (e.g. Astin, 1970; Bayer and Boruch, 1969a; Clark and Plotkin, 1963; Heath, 1970).

In the literature on secular characteristics, at least one, and sometimes a majority of studies in each of the topics covered found samples of new students to be equal to, or even superior to, the comparative sample of traditional students. For example, new students (again, race or class rather than ability usually was the operating variable) were often found to have higher aspiration levels (cf., Astin, 1970; Bayer and Boruch, 1969a; Davis, *et al.*, 1970; Froe, 1968; Harris, 1966) and even realistic ones (Knoell, 1970; Lott and Lott, 1963). (There is a disturbing Catch-22 in the literature that damns new students for having low aspirations but then rationalizes away any findings of high aspirations by terming them unrealistic.) They often appeared to have stronger motivation or drive to achieve (Astin, 1970; Reboussin and Goldstein, 1966; Coleman, *et al.*, 1966; Hall, 1968). They have been noted as being more liberal and socially concerned (Forbes and Gipson, 1969; Froe; 1968). Their self-concepts, their sense of internal control, and their willingness to delay gratification were frequently as strong as, if not stronger than, their traditional counterparts (e.g., Miller and O'Connor, 1969; Hedegard and Brown, 1969; Heller, 1966; Levy, 1969).

Since the methodology of most of the research into secular characteristics—whether their findings were positive or negative—lacked rigor, and the concept-defining tests were of questionable construct validity, skepticism about these positive findings is justified in many cases. Sensitive observers may be more accurate in noting characteristics that are often too complex and subtle to be tested by existing measures. Moreover, many researchers seem to have good intentions motivating their distress over unexpected positive findings—they would like to ascribe the charac-

teristically low academic achievement of new students to less opprobrious psychological problems, than to lack of capacity. (Although another group sees a third alternative—inadequate education and persistent socio-economic problems.)

Nevertheless, whatever the motives for ignoring positive findings, and without denying the importance of tradtional academic values and fundamental skills, this unwillingness or inability to accept new students on their own terms, to see their strengths, and to use their characteristics as factors with which to build a valid educational program rather than deficiencies and weaknesses, must be eradicated if new students are to succeed in school.

One of the chief advocates of the position that new students show strengths that can and should be utilized in higher education is Cross (1971), who thoroughly documented the "differences" between low-ability students and traditional students and argued cogently for providing them with a "different" but equally worthwhile high quality educational experience. To some extent, Moore (1970) is in sympathy with this view. Other writers stressing the need to build programs around the strengths of new students are Friedman (1969b), Greising (1969), and McCreary (1966).

It is difficult for the academician to accept qualities not traditionally valued in academe as "positive" or, vice-versa, to see the absence of traditionally valued qualities as "a good thing." Glazer (1969), for example, is highly critical of the trend among ethnic minority groups to deny "that the hitherto thought-to-be desirable objective . . . is indeed desirable". But it is clear that black and brown students, often accompanied by their white middle-class counterparts, have begun to reject "establishment" values. The time is, perhaps, already here when students of all races can embrace the stereotypical portrait of the Mexican-American who can relax, think, and enjoy leisure (Heller, 1966) rather than being upwardly striving, achievement-oriented, and constantly sacrificing the present for the sake of the future.

The research data on positive qualities *per se* of new students are, as should be expected from the above, extremely scanty. Gaier and Wambach (1960) asked male and female white and black undergraduates in the South to list their three greatest personality assets and liabilities. Both groups of black students (as well as the white women) listed their primary

asset as "getting along with others." Black women cited their capability for establishing friendship (on a par with white women but higher than both male groups) and their character strength (only slightly less often than white men). Black men noted especially their concern for people, as well as their capacity for friendship.

Knoell (1970) found that black urban high school graduates, who were not going to college, accepted responsibility for their level of educational achievement, had reasonable educational and occupational aspirations, and exhibited "profile of interests" scores that were "neither flat nor low." They earned high scores also on scales of Service and Social values and low scores on Materialistic and Reputation values.

Cross (1971) also found strong positive interest profiles for new students, using data from the Comparative Guidance and Placement program of the College Entrance Examination Board. For example, low-ability women in three large interest subgroups (business, health and biology, and social sciences) had higher interest scores than other junior college women in those interest areas. While Cross agreed that "new students are not as interested in academic pursuits as are traditional students," she faulted education for "not capitalizing on the strong positive interests shown by new students," interests that are "cognitive and creative" (pp. 68-69). She found evidence that new students, though not "idea oriented", are concerned with, and have ability in, dealing with human and technical problems.

Much of the small amount of writing on positive characteristics of new students is based on informal observation, rather than research. Although black students are most commonly the focus of these articles, often the group spoken of is simply "disadvantaged" students (with the apparent emphasis still on black or brown students, however). One can infer too that, in most cases, subjects are "poor" rather than "working-class" students.

The students are cited as being "verbally adept" (L. Berger, 1968), at least in group discussions (R. Williams, 1969), as having a capacity for pungent language (Delco *et al.*, 1969), or, at least, as having "subtlety and skill in the verbal and nonverbal communication characteristic of their own social or peer groups" (E. Gordon, 1964).

Frequently, the "practical realism" or "social sophistication" of the disadvantaged student is noted (E. Berger, 1968; Delco *et al.*, 1969; Fried-

man, 1969b; McCreary, 1966; Moore, 1970; Williams, 1969). R. Williams (1969) also noted that they are "analytical in human relationships," and McCreary (1966) and Moore (1970) cited their independence, self-reliance and autonomy. Moore (1970) named black students, specifically, as being more candid, more able to take disappointment, and more ingenious outside of the classroom than their white counterparts. E. Gordon (1964) was apparently referring to most of these qualities when he described disadvantaged students as capable of "accurate perception and generalization concerning some social, psychological, and physical phenomena . . ." and "resourcefulness, indeed ingeniousness, in coping with such difficult circumstances as poverty and discrimination as a result of social class or racial status." Kapel (1971) noted that the "disadvantaged" are at an advantage in programs training students for work with low SES people.

The capacity of new students for strong and loyal personal relationships was cited by numerous writers (Delco *et al.*, 1969; E. Gordon, 1964; McCreary, 1966; Wolfe, 1972). But most attention is given to the "spirit" of the new student. Resnik and Kaplan (1971a), working with black adult college students, found them highly motivated, devoted to work, tenacious and dedicated. A similar note was struck by Wolfe (1972), who teaches working class students largely from white ethnic groups and finds them characterized by high energy, enthusiasm, and intensity. Petrie (1971) also noted how strongly motivated the students must be to persist in the face of the huge barriers they encounter. E. Gordon (1964), somewhat more cautiously, agreed that "in selected areas of interest or endeavor" the students show motivation, creativity, proficiency, and ability to sustain interest, remember, associate, and generalize. An ironic note on this subject was struck by Friedman (1969b), who pointed out that calling the students "not motivated" essentially "means that they don't throw themselves into the educational activities which their teachers design for them with anything approaching the verve and elan which they save for other (usually frowned upon) activities [p. 361]."

Although these writers do not denigrate the academic and psychological handicaps (particularly lack of confidence) with which new students struggle, they do add balance to the portrait of the emotionally and intellectually inadequate student so prevalent in the literature. Most importantly, they suggest that the unique characteristics and positive qualities of the new students can be utilized to construct programs that will educate them for the paths they wish to travel.

OTHER SECULAR MEASURES

Some of the measures used to describe and categorize the secular characteristics of the new student do not fit under the preceding topics. While generally relevant they do not deal explicitly with the educational qualities said to distinguish the new student. Rather they attempt descriptions based on definitions of adult personality from concepts of diverse origin—personality theory, statistical methodology, or the predilections of individual researchers.

In this section we have collected and sketched the results of studies using these standardized questionnaires or inventories. The diversity of the devices and the varied groups of students studied does not allow any kind of synthesis; on the contrary, this section adds to the contradictions and inconsistencies already noted in preceding discussions.

Studies Using the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values

The AVL defines the basic interests or motives in personality as Theoretical, Economic, Esthetic, Social, Political, and Religious. Eagleson and Bell (1945) gave an earlier version of the AVL to a sample of black college women in the South and found the Esthetic score fell substantially below the norms which had been developed on northeastern white women. However, Gray (1947) found the same pattern applied to white college women in the South and concluded that the key variable is regional subculture rather than race. Brazziel (1964b) established that the AVL differentiated low- and middle-income black college groups from one another with the low-income students having lower average scores on the Economic and Esthetic scales and higher on the Religious and Social scales. Curtis (1970) compared low-achieving community college students who enrolled in an adjustment skills course with a control group. On the AVL, one of the measures used, he found that, regardless of treatment condition, men had higher average scores on the Theoretical, Economic and Political scales while women had higher scores on the Esthetic, Social and Religious scales; these differences also exactly characterized the norm groups so that his conclusion that sex is the major differentiating factor in the study is doubtless correct and useless. Lott and Lott (1963) applied a modified version of the AVL to seniors in four Kentucky high schools, two black (county and city) and two white (county and city). On all of the scales, differences between means for the four schools were extremely small; analyses across sex and race indicated that differences between

white men and women were significant on all six scales and in the directions to be expected from the norms; when black men and women were compared only three scales differentiated; Economic, Social and Political. Comparisons across ethnic groups showed only that whites scored higher on the Economic and blacks higher on the Theoretical scales, but these differences are confounded with sex and the authors drew a picture of basic similarity between black and white seniors. They do indicate, however, that their groups differed from northern groups in the rank-order position assigned to a number of the values, and concluded as did Gray that that region has an import bearing on performance on the Study of Values.

Studies Using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory

The MMPI has been used in attempts to differentiate high from low-achieving students (Centi, 1962) and black from white (Butcher, Ball and Ray, 1964) or Mexican-American from white (Reilley and Knight, 1970) college students.

Centi's subjects were probably not new students in our use of the term, although some of them were indubitably low-achievers. He found that the MMPI Hypochondriasia, Depression, Hysteria, Psychesthenia, and Schizophrenia scales differentiated between high- and low-achieving groups and concluded that the high-achieving students were better adjusted than the lower ranking ones.

Butcher, Ball and Ray compared unselected and socioeconomically matched groups of black and white college students from North Carolina. They found that the Lie and Paranoia scales differentiated significantly in all comparisons (sex by race for undifferentiated and matched samples) with black samples earning higher average L scores and lower average Pa scores. Reilley and Knight observed the same pattern for Mexican-American college students who also had significantly higher average L scores and lower Pa scores than their white comparison groups. They suggested that the higher L score of the Mexican-American group might reflect strict moral principles, or highly conventional attitudes, while the non-Mexican groups' higher Pa scale score might indicate more subjectivity, concern with self, and perhaps less trust of others. Butcher, Ball and Ray also noted consistent tendencies for white women to score higher on the Masculinity-femininity scale than black women and black men to have

higher scores on the Hypomania scale. Other differences on these scales were sex-linked but both sets of authors concluded that there are subcultural differences that can be detected by the MMPI, although they took care to spell out the methodological and analytical problems involved.

Studies Using the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule

Comparisons of selected groups of students with the EPPS normative group disclosed differences. Brazziel (1964a) indicated his total group of students from southern black colleges differed from the norms at the .01 level on eight of the scales. He did not identify the scales but said that the majority of the ones involved were of a type involving direct ascendance-submissiveness in human relationships such as deference and dominance. He also compared black students from the upper and lower South and from this analysis concluded that "there is more than one south and more than one Negro college student (p. 49)." Those from upper south urban areas were motivated by need structures more like their white liberal-arts counterparts. Brazziel's findings substantially replicated those of Guba, Jackson and Bidwell (1959) who found that southern black university teacher trainees scored higher (at the .05 level of confidence) on Achievement, Deference, Order, Intraception, Abasement, Nurturance, and Endurance and lower on Exhibition, Autonomy, Affiliation, Dominance, Change, and Heterosexuality. Grossack (1957) administered the EPPS to 171 southern black college students. Analyzed by sex, mean differences significantly higher (.05 level) were found for black males, on Deference, Order, Endurance; they showed lower mean scores on Exhibition, Autonomy, Affiliation, Dominance, Abasement, and Heterosexuality. Black women had higher average scores on Achievement, Deference, and Order and lower scores on Exhibition, Autonomy, Affiliation, Dominance, Abasement, Change, Heterosexuality, and Aggression.

Taken together these investigations seem to suggest that black college students did not perform consistently with the norms for the EPPS and that these differences might have been culturally linked. Lamentably, all of these studies are old so their relevance to the contemporary scene is difficult to gauge.

Penn Valley Community College (1969) and Young (1966) both used the EPPS to delineate low-achieving groups of students in community college settings. For this clientele, both investigations showed

above average need for Abasement, Aggression, and Intraception and below average need for Affiliation and Dominance. Wade (1970) also used some of the EPPS to study alienation and manifest needs of marginally qualified college students. She found that the three scales she employed–Achievement, Order, and Endurance–demonstrated no relationship to college achievement or to alienation, although a relationship was observed to hold between Alienation and Intraception, and Alienation and Dominance.

For the most part the EPPS has been used to try and detect the direction and extent to which low-achieving and/or minority groups differ from the normative groups. There are material differences and these extend to subsets of the comparison groups (upper and lower South, sex, social class) as well. One is left with the fact of difference, however; reasons for the condition, or its significance remain matters of speculation and *ad hoc* theorizing.

Studies Using the California Psychological Inventory

The CPI has also been used to compare specially selected groups of students with the test norms. American University (1969) found that mean scores for its inner city students, male or female, consistently fell below the national and the college norms on all of the scales. These results were taken to signify that inner city students have greater difficulty in interpersonal relationships, with men somewhat more susceptible to this than women, and that social relations are a matter for greater concern than intellectual ones, since the discrepancies from the norms were not so great for scales said to be intellectually structured.

Froe (1964) had disadvantaged Morgan State College freshmen complete the CPI and found that they scored below the normative population on the Dominance, Capacity for Status, Social Presence, Self Acceptance, Sense of Well-being, Responsibility, Tolerance, Intellectual Efficiency, Achievement via Independence, Psychological Mindedness, and Flexibility scales. This substantially duplicated the results at American University five years later. Curtis (1970) also employed the CPI and found differences in scores to be sex-linked. Gaston (1971) compared northern and southern black freshmen on the CPI and found that only one scale–Flexibility–differentiated between them.

As with other personality inventories, the CPI has established the fact that groups of minority or low-achieving students differ from the normative populations, and there is the suggestion of some regional differences within the black student population.

Studies Using the Omnibus Personality Inventory

Stewart (1966) compared the mean scores earned on the OPI scales by junior college students enrolled in different occupational curricula. Differences in the means were too small to be of much practical significance in counseling or program selection, although the aggregate means for men and women seemed to depart materially from the means of the normative group on some scales. The community college students, both men and women, had much lower average scores on the Autonomy scale; men had lower average score on Estheticism and Thinking Introversion and a higher score on Social Introversion. Women had lower Impulse Expression and Thinking Introversion scores.

Hedegard and Brown (1969) administered and discussed the general results and implications of OPI scores for disadvantaged black and white students in the liberal arts college of the University of Michigan. Black students, they reported, were more interested in establishing control, dealing with surface manifestations of the world and reducing it to simple, concrete, factual terms. Black men resembled their white counterparts more closely than black women did.

Studies Using Other Measures

In the following table we have summarized the results of investigations using a variety of the other measures. For the most part they reflect single applications of a given questionnaire and, in sum, seem to emphasize the fact that new students differ from normative groups, or other more traditional college-going comparison groups by having a less favorable quality of adjustment to college life particularly. Occupational interests or preferences seem to be mixed, although there is some tendency for low-ability or ethnic minority groups to prefer esthetic or creative spheres of activity. Regional differences in patterns also appear to be present in the studies that used this variable as a basis for analysis.

Instrument	*Investigators*	*Results*
16 Personality Factor Test	Behm, 1968	Community college freshmen in transfer curricula are more sensitive and socially oriented and less realistic and practical than students in occupational curricula.
16 Personality Factor Test	McClain, 1967	Southern black college students differ from the norms on the majority of the factors. Men present a picture of lack of identity and low-achievement motive; women identify with female head of family, more disciplined, self-responsible.
16 Personality Factor Test	Soares and Soares, 1971	Both disadvantaged and advantaged college women show strong, favorable patterns of adjustment when compared with high school girls; advantaged college women have greater tendency toward intelligence and enthusiasm than disadvantaged.
Meyers-Briggs Type Indicator	Bartee, 1968	Disadvantaged black and white college students marked by rigidity, growth in factual orientation, loss of flexibility and creativity over the college experience.
	aston,	Black college freshmen from the North and Midwest show a preference for thinking; those from the South have a feeling orientation.

Instrument	*Investigators*	*Results*
California Test of Personality	Styles, 1970	Found significant differences and sex status interactions on most scales for black freshman students enrolled at Florida State University and at Florida A&M.
Inventory of Beliefs	Froe, 1964	Advantaged and disadvantaged black college freshmen are said to differ from one another and from the norm groups although the hard data are not supplied.
D-F Opinion Survey	Bradfield, 1967	Low-income junior college students show more dependence than the low-income university group to whom they were compared.
Occupational Values Inventory	Johnson, 1971	Anglo, Mexican-American and Indian students in rural New Mexico high schools show different patterns of preferences for their occupational experiences, Anglos stressing Independence, Associates and Follow Father, Mexican-Americans favoring Creativity, Prestige and Altruism and Indians preferring Intellectual Stimulation, Economic Returns, Surroundings and Variety. Important sex differences also noted.
Interest Assessment Scales	Stewart, 1966, 1971	Junior college students in occupationally-oriented curricula prefer Concrete Means and Aesthetic, reject Order and Written Expression as these are measured by the scales.

Instrument	*Investigators*	*Results*
Kuder Preference Record	Young, 1966	Community college students of low tested ability have Kuder profiles that show lower average scores (in comparison to the norms) on the Outdoor, Mechanical and Scientific scales and higher than average scores in Computational, Musical and Clerical scales.

Miscellaneous Other Studies

Finally we wish to list a small group of studies or reports which do not fit under any of the preceeding topics. They all deal with one aspect or other of this broad, noncognitive area and employ interview or unstandardized questionnaires to arrive at the results.

Investigator	*Device*	*Concept/Results*
Heath, 1970	Interview Questionnaire	*Alienation:* Talented black students in a university High Potential program report pervasive feelings of resentment toward and alienation from the university.
Southern Regional Education Board, 1970	Interview Schedule	*Alienation/Masculinity:* Black Southern junior college students express strong feelings of alienation from college. Male students have a dire need to express their masculinity.
Dispenzieri, *et al.*, 1971	Christie's Machiavellianism Scale	*Machiavellianism:* Did not forecast performance of CUNY College Discovery Program students or regular matriculants.

Investigator	*Device*	*Concept/Results*
Schwartz, 1969	Value Questionnaire	*Values:* Values of 12th grade Los Angeles Anglo and Mexican-American students differ but vary according to the socio-economic status, degree of integration in the school and sex of the respondents.
Morgan, 1970	Interviews and Questionnaires	*Various:* An attempt to describe early experiences, teaching-learning problems, and school related attitudes of black college students from urban ghettos. Alludes to pervasive feelings of bitterness, nature as a "mass man", tendency to reject areas of knowledge in which deficient.

CURRICULAR STRATEGIES

The characteristics of the new student have been dealt with in the preceding sections. While the findings of the hundreds of articles that bear on the educational needs of new students are not consistent from place to place or from group to group, and while disagreements and even contradictions exist as to what may be the case, there are some few common conditions and general facts at which curricular strategies have been aimed. These include:

- deficiencies in conventional academic skills, especially reading, writing, mathematics
- lack of proficiency or practice in "thinking" approaches to problems
- strong leanings toward vocational or occupational outcomes
- a sense of bewilderment and feelings of being out of place particularly at the onset of the college experience

- difficulty in working toward abstract goals or for symbolic rewards (Cottle, 1971; Dansereau, 1969; Meeker, undated; Warren, 1970; Wolfe, 1972)
- limitations on freedom of choice of institution or program (The suggestions of Stanley (1971) and Harcleroad (1971) that the disadvantaged choose the institutions and programs especially suited to their capabilities strikes an especially ironic note.)

Many curricular adjustments that have been introduced tried to capitalize on a few principles, although the most common institutional response, the remedial course, is probably the least effectual one. Berg (1965) flatly asserted that it kills student motivation, and there is very little evidence that the standard remedial offering improves the skills it attempts to, although this may reflect deficiencies in evaluative devices as much as flaws in method.

Most programs described or evaluated in the literature, and most writers who have argued for specific programs, sought to provide the student with success experiences. In addition, achieving greater relevance by using familiar or intrinsically interesting materials is considered desirable as is personalizing study programs to fit individual needs and capabilities. There have been very few experiments or intensive surveys of the results of programs that attempted to capitalize on these procedures. A notable exception to this is Cross (1971) whose proposal for the new education of new students grew out of her very careful study of the qualities of these individuals. She advocated that new education should concentrate on the strengths of these students and that it should be concerned with the attainment of excellence in one of several different spheres of activity according to the individual's strengths. Moore (1970) also proposed curricular models and teaching approaches that grew out of his wide experience with the new student.

A number of writers dealt with methods of achieving relevance. Some sense of the problem and some ways of responding to it were given by Friedman (1969b) who when describing the social science program for freshmen at Miles College remarked, "Negro history motivates Negro students in a way that Greek history does not." The course tried to ally itself with student strengths rather than expose their weaknesses.

> Miles students are poor readers; (in the past) they were given a huge textbook. They are poor at note-taking; they were placed in large

> lecture classes. They are weak in writing on abstract ideas or non-experiential topics; teachers had them write lengthy essays on long ago and far away subjects. If you start with students who have existed on the academic margin so far . . . this approach is bound to be self-defeating. (The students are) on the whole more motoric than ideational learners, wiser in the ways of the world than in the ways of the classroom. We tried to teach through media which utilize these strengths . . . . We found that students talked, wrote and learned best, generally, when they had just recently had an experience to talk, write and learn about [p. 363].

Friedman contended that this program was extremely popular with the students, although he did not document this point. O'Leary (1971) investigated the impact upon learning of more or less relevant materials. He studied junior college students of different races, social classes and ability levels, and their performance on learning units rated for relevance to the individual. He found the improvement in performance accompanying the introduction of personally relevant material was greater for blacks than for whites and the performance of low-ability subjects was more enhanced than that of high-ability subjects when personally relevant material was to be studied. Bullock (1971) in a somewhat more informal study gave reading tests to students in sociology courses, one test covering material that had a black focus, and a second on a comparable level but without such focus and found that students did better with the black material. He concluded that "much of the apparent retardation of black college students is a function of the degree to which they have consciously or unconsciously 'turned-off' the learning process for lack of interest rather than of their ability to absorb what is being taught (p. 595)."

Other writers described means of achieving relevance for black students (Resnick and Kaplan, 1971a, 1971b); community college students (Dansereau, 1969); or working-class students (Wolfe, 1972). Wolfe's account of his attempts to break down attitudes toward authoritarianism and the individual isolation that distinguish students at Richmond College offered some useful suggestions for achieving relevance in the white context. While students from ethnic minorities may be motivated and helped toward the attainment of traditional educational objectives through the introduction of ethnic materials, the difficulties of white students cannot be approached in quite this way. What is a relevant curriculum for the working-class white student? Wolfe suggested that such a program is one that turns the student on to conceptualization or theoretical thinking, and

he brought his students to this through his use of an "us-them" technique that held that class distinctions exist, because the oppressing classes have thought things through. His goal was to have his students imitate and adopt "their" tactics. While working toward this goal, he also imposed a fair amount of structure on his classes and tried to involve them in collective activity. This need for structure was seen also by Silverman (1963) who found working-class children were much less expressive in their behavior and because of this found progressive education methods incompatible. Cassidy (1968) also commented on this matter of conceptualization in her study of working-class students at a highly selective college, noting that their background has not permitted them to experience the give and take of ideas as essential aspects of socialization and that they view ideas as things that are passed from one person to another rather than as ways of relating to each other. This inability to see personal relationships as learning relationships may be an appropriate and useful basis for the development of teaching-learning strategies along the lines that Wolfe suggested.

There is no argument about the importance of achieving relevance, not only for new students but for all students and it is clear that when some measure of relevance is achieved in the curriculum the performance of the students improves. Nor does there seem to be any confusion about what a relevant curriculum strives to achieve; it simply enlivens the pursuit of traditional academic goals or objectives so that the destination remains the same although the route may have changed.

The individualized or personalized curriculum has always had some acceptance in American higher education and the new student has intensified interest in it. Cross (1971) proposed that conventional arrangements be abandoned for the new student whose education should proceed to a level of excellence in areas where his particular strengths and interests are concentrated. In effect, she advocated the establishment of educational alternatives that would depart substantially from traditional models, and suggested ways in which this might be accomplished. Smith and Fogg (1969) and Chalghian (1969) described programs that achieved a greater level of individualization within more conventional educational frameworks. Both programs, one at Boston University and the other at Macomb County Community College were gratifyingly successful in having their students attain standard academic criteria such as persistence and achieve-

ment as reflected by their grade-point average. Both programs had some "total push" elements; featuring core curricula, they brought faculty together, encouraged student-faculty interaction and kept students together in small groups. In addition, the Boston program also provided extensive counseling.

Cassidy (1968) and Furniss (1970) noted that the individual faculty member can do a great deal to allay insecurity and help the student to achieve. Cassidy noted that the working-class student, particularly the one with low test scores has a great need for "gentle attention" and Furniss contended that a concerned teacher might help a black student more than large amounts of "black awareness." Bowman (1971) asserted that the new student needs a faculty contact as advocate and supporter, and Ellis (1970) gave an interesting theoretical base to this contention, arguing that the lower-class student who aspires to middle-class status and puruses it through educational means must have four functions met. These functions are discharged by others—in the case of the middle-class student they may all be met within the family, but the lower-class student has to rely on persons outside the family to act as *goad, coach, incentor* and *sponsor*. Since the different functions are more or less important at different times in the career of the student, the notion of a model to provide these different functions seems valid. It also throws some doubt on the validity of the growing practice of putting the responsibility for advisement onto other students. While it is doubtless true that students can perform many duties with as much skill and knowledge as faculty members, they cannot function in some of the roles most useful to students.

In a sense, the various means of achieving a more individualized academic environment amount in one way or another, to recognizing and responding to the individual humanly.

Providing for success experiences as a means of capturing interest and directing the motivation of the student is, of course, a problem every teacher must face. With the new student it tends to be somewhat more difficult, not only because his previous experience has been unsuccessful but because there is some disposition to feel more comfortable with and to want the traditional education at which they have not done well. This point also mentioned by Cottle (1971) and Wolfe (1972) is spelled out by Tinker (Atkinson, Etzioni and Tinker, 1969) who noted that the under-prepared student is more threatened by, but feels more secure with the

traditional system of education. They want the kind of education that has failed them. Grades and examinations are indications of achievement and evidence of progress, and unstructured innovation fosters discomfort.

Wisdom and Shaw (1969) suggested that to have success experiences the students should be steered to courses they can handle. While there are risks in this sort of approach—the creation of a kind of informal tracking system and the consequent damage to individuals always threatens, and knowledge of what students are capable of doing or where they are capable of doing it is not always perfect—but this sort of thing has gone on informally for many years and is one way of fostering survival.

Bowman (1971) used external rewards such as encouragement, assistance, and paid work experience to motivate students at the outset of the program as one of the components introduced to help marginal students succeed in college. Such rewards were extremely important at first until the students became intrinsically motivated.

One problem with trying to assure success is that it may create backlash. Tinker, for example, observed that the permissiveness that accompanied the relaxed requirements at Federal City College tended to lower expectations and standards of performance of (presumably) faculty and students both.

Gurin and Katz (1966) dealt at some length with the importance of success experiences, and suggested both means and conditions under which success may be experienced. They indicated that success must occur because of the student's efforts and they need to occur regularly. The techniques which they suggested include:

> Providing feedback on success
>
> Progressing from tasks which the students can do well to those they are less sure about (both in course and examination procedures).
>
> Using programmed or other materials that rely on operant types of conditioning-learning procedures.
>
> Broadening or more generously dispensing high grades and honors as a means of modifying student expectance.
>
> Providing actual anticipatory work experience particularly in non-traditional work settings.
>
> Developing different ideologies about the causes of success and failure. In particular, holding an external ideology about causes of failure—attributing it to the consequences of discrimination rather

than the exigencies of fate or ones own shortcomings—results in an enhanced capacity to handle the world just through being more reality-oriented about the obstacles and opportunities for blacks in this society.

Securing student participation in social and educational change through involvement with civil rights groups, community action programs and the like.

There are other methods of assuring success, largely strategies that set goals of performance but do not impose limitations of time, "A" paper approaches, for example, or any of the applications of programmed or computer-aided instruction. There seems to be a firm and well-founded belief in the notion that nothing succeeds like success, affecting both capabilities for work and estimates of self.

Other means of adapting the curriculum to the problems of the new student that are not easily subsumable under the various categories listed above include the following:

Meeker (undated) suggested that there be a close functional tie between education and jobs, that learning should proceed largely through experience. He also advocated that evaluation of students be against some absolute criterion rather than a comparative standard developed for individuals in a given setting.

Warren (1970) contended traditional curricula preparing students to enter business and the professions are not adequate for the new student. He believed that this is so because of the lack of focus of the new student, his skills, his feelings of alienation and uncertainty, and his tendency to respond more to the emotional than to the cognitive content of an interpersonal exchange. To counteract these tendencies Warren suggested such students need active involvement in an enterprise clearly related to their current experiences rather than learning subjects fragmented into segments spread throughout the week. Some specific approaches that could be used include participation in research institutes dealing with major current problems (Wolfe established a research collective to look into the power structure of Staten Island to accomplish this), exploration of community problems, and the like.

Boney (1967) described an experimentally validated training procedure to develop assertive behavior in black secondary school pupils. In addition to the use of ethnically-linked material it relied heavily on role-playing and modeling behavior. Delco (1969) suggested a number of

modifications in the educational process to fit the needs of black students more closely, most of which have the effect of moving the system closer to the point at which the students are found. She encouraged institutions to try "really unconventional" curriculums, although in the light of what others have said the wisdom of this recommendation is open to some question. H. Lewis (1967) speculated on the relationship between self-concept and creativity and believes disadvantaged college students represent a group perfectly suited for studying the connections that obtain. Such study would, he believes, reveal new ways of restructuring the academic subculture.

This section of this report is, in a number of respects, an afterthought. The research we have reported on was turned up in connection with our search for material dealing with other educational characteristics of the new student, so we cannot claim with any confidence that it is complete or exhaustive. We did not make any effort to survey programs for special features designed to respond to the new student. Yet, despite the essentially incomplete and fortuitous reading of the literature, we believe that curricular strategies that will work with new students must achieve relevance to the life experiences of the student. They are likely to be more effective if they entail work experience, motoric activities, learning by doing, or any other means which, at first, avoids going off on a "head trip." The *process*, in the early stages, may be much more important than the content. Faculty-student relationships may be especially important and fruitful to produce change and to facilitate learning. A concomitant willingness of the institution to participate in, support, and foster nontraditional kinds of activities to achieve some sense of sharing, of cooperativeness, of community would also help.

And, finally, much of what we contend is appropriate for the new student fits the needs of the traditional student equally well. The cry for relevance did not originate with the new student; and the sense of confusion, frustration, dissociation, and bewilderment that accompanies the college experience is not confined to the new student.

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